CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

FREDERICK JOSEPH KINSMAN

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BY
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TO

WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING

PREFACE

THE papers contained in this book were read before a Conference for Church Workers in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, July 1–4, 1913. They are printed at the request of those who heard them in the form in which they were delivered in spite of bearing marks of haste and the pressure under which they were written. The short papers given in the Appendix were written for the *Trinity Parish Record*, New York, and are reprinted by permission of the Editor.

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CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

THE SACRAMENTAL PRINCIPLE

The sacramental principle means the expression of the spiritual through the material, the connection and interaction of the human and the Divine. It is based on the principle of creation whereby the material world became the expression of the thought of God, and whereby in particular man was created in God's image. By its origin humanity was an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual life pertaining to the Godhead. In line with this law or principle of creation, and as ultimate development of this law, was the great sacrament of all, the Incarnation of the Son of God. When in the man Jesus the Word of God was made flesh and dwelt among us, the innermost spiritual became intelligible by human expression, and the eternal was translated into comprehensible terms of the life of time. In our Lord dwelt "the fulness of the Godhead in bodily form," so that He was "the effulgence of the Divine glory, the express image of the Person" of God the Father. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." He was truly and perfectly Divine; and at the same time He was truly and perfectly human. There were always these two sides of the truth about Him; and neglect of either of them not only marred the symmetry of truth, but also had disastrous practical consequences. This is the les-

son of warning given by the history of the Church's struggles with heresy.

Men often wilfully isolate and emphasize one side of a double truth, because for various reasons they are determined to see one side only; and by so doing they miss the meaning, and fail to realize the full consequences, of the truth with which they are concerned. In these days we do not like to talk about orthodoxy and heresy; or if we do, we are apt to assume that orthodoxy is only another name for the bigotry of ignorance, and that heresy is synonymous with fearless devotion to truth. We ought, however, to look at the right meaning of the words, and behind the words to the things they represent, and to recognize that the things they represent have vital and eternal issues. "Orthodoxy" means right thinking; and "heresy" is wilfulness. Right thinking is necessary for any right action. In the pursuit of every science there is a right thinking, the result of the spirit of obedience, necessary for success, and a wilfulness which above all things loves its own way and shuts its eyes to truth it does not happen to fancy, which spells failure. The two things may, or may not, be given the old-fashioned names "orthodoxy" and "heresy"; but if not, they must be given others of identical significance. The difference between them is not so much intellectual as moral, not so much in degree of apprehension as in quality of disposition, not relating so much to actual grasp of truth as to attitude toward truth. The heretical temper may show itself in defence of the articles of the Creed; and the spirit of orthodoxy may coexist with ignorance. All depends

on line of development, not on degree of progress. The one is self-centered, the other God-centered: the one seeks to express and vindicate its own views, the other, only to submit itself to the authority of our Lord. The one declares defiantly, "We are they that ought to speak; who is lord over us?" the other says simply, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." In every pursuit of truth these two tempers show themselves; and it is only the temper which seeks to control Nature by obeying Nature, which conforms to law instead of defying it, which looks up to God for guidance, that can learn the secrets of growth and progress. "In Thy light shall we see light."

The history of the Church affords many examples of heretical tendencies in ultra-orthodox circles. Most famous heretics were not assailants of Christian truth as a whole, men who had assumed an utterly un-Christian standpoint, but zealous Christians whose orthodoxy was narrow and one-sided, who out of devotion to one truth, or to one side of truth, resolutely refused to look at any other. The difference between orthodoxy and heresy is often chiefly that between patience and impatience, between acceptance of the difficult task of viewing truth as a whole and of recognizing and relating its contrasts, and the irritability which thinks that devotion to some one truth necessitates denial or obscuration of every other, which exults over "things more plain than truth," refusing to see that life is made up of "things more true than plain."

The Christian attitude toward our Lord recognizes

and constantly applies the sacramental principle. Truth as it comes from Him has always something of the twofoldness which belongs to Himself. It is truly human and truly Divine; and its parallel principles and problems call for reverent patience. The attitude of mind which invariably leads to error and inefficiency, pounces on a pet principle, isolates and exaggerates it, and is hysterically blind to every other. There is no lie like a half-truth; no heretic so much of a nuisance as a petty-minded fraction of orthodoxy. Christian history largely consists of the working out on a world-wide scale of the sacramental principle: and many errors and evils are illustrations of grasp of only one side of this. At the risk of being tedious, let me call attention to some of the more familiar examples.

1. Most obviously is this true in Christology. Our Lord is true God and true Man. Over and over again defenders of His Godhead minimized and denied His humanity; and defenders of His complete humanity have ignored and explained away His Godhead. In every case speculative errors have resulted in loss of grip of the practical meaning of the faith. There have been flagrantly naughty heretics and superlatively pious heretics; but both alike have dismembered the truth and failed to realize the fulness of life in the faith.

Some Christological heresies have denied the Divine in Christ. Arius, confident in his logic and common-sense, convinced of the truth of our Lord's oneness with creation, could not be made to admit that He was fully and eternally God. He was not ready to learn from our Lord or from Scripture, but, vehement to

establish and impose his own theories, so overpressed a metaphor as to deny the truth behind it. In his wilful defiance of authority and resolute maintenance of his own views, he is the classic example of the heretical temper. Nestorius likewise, keen to defend the reality of our Lord's human example, the completeness of His human experience, but stupidly impatient at efforts to relate these truths to others equally important, could not be led to regard Him as more than most highly inspired of prophets, and would never admit that the new-born son of Mary could be incarnate God. He had hold of important truth; but he let even more important slip from his grasp.

On the other hand, there were those who denied our Lord's humanity. Apollinaris, special champion of the Divinity against Arius, refused to admit in Him a truly human will or rational soul. The Apollinarian Christ lacked the crowning characteristic of humanity. He was wholly God, but only partly Man. The motive of this teaching was reverence, since the denial of will was intended to protect our Lord's sinlessness; but it mutilated truth to avoid difficulty. From the same motive Eutyches went to even greater lengths, denying the existence in our Lord of anything human at all. "The humanity," he said, "was lost in the Divinity as a drop of vinegar is swallowed in the ocean." The Eutychian Christ was merely God in masquerade. That was a comparatively simple theory, free from certain causes of perplexity; but it did not conform to the facts of the Gospels, nor to the interpretation of them given in the Epistles.

These men represented great schools of thought in

the Christian Church, or rather the tendencies of these schools developing without check and control. In the fourth and fifth centuries the chief theological centres were Alexandria and Antioch. Alexandria, seat of the famous Catechetical School, the home of mystical theology, the see in which Arianism had been fought most fiercely, which had given to the Church Athanasius and Cyril, was by temper and tradition the strenuous defender of the Divine in Christ. Antioch, city of the Christian name, a centre for practical theology, based on a sound and critical study of Scripture, numbering among its sons scholars and saints of whom Chrysostom is best known, was traditional defender of His complete humanity. But in both schools were those who could not preserve the balance of faith. Arius and Nestorius had many followers in Antioch; the Monophysites flourished in Egypt. Both schools and many great teachers needed the discipline and deliberate instruction of the Church as a whole, which was given in the Christological teaching of the Creeds and the *Definition* of Chalcedon.

"He is complete in His own nature and complete in ours," enunciated Leo: and this thesis the Chalcedonian fathers elaborated with majestic, evenly balanced harmony. "Following therefore the holy Fathers, we confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and all in harmony teach the same thing; that He is perfect in Godhead, perfect in manhood, truly God and truly Man, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching His Manhood, begotten of the Father before

all worlds as touching the Godhead, in these last days, the same born of the Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, as touching His Manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, the Only-begotten, recognized in two natures without confusion, change, division or separation." The chief thing to be noticed in this classic definition of the Christian faith concerning the Person of Christ is its parallelism, the equal assertion of both sides of the complex truth, of the human and of the Divine. No effort is made to relate or reconcile them. There is no hint at the solution of difficulties suggested by the coexistence of the two: but, following the Fathers, the Scriptures, the words of our Lord Himself, the two sides of the truth are accepted and set down side by side. Witness is given to the whole truth, even if there be suggestion of insoluble puzzles. The chief thing which the council sought to do was to bear witness, not to explain. The Church discharged its duty by being simply honest rather than profoundly philosophical. In the controversies of the conciliar period, it was straightforward loyalty, rather than intellectual subtlety, which reached a solution accepted by the conscience of the Church as bearing true witness to the faith. The sum and substance of the Church's teaching about Christ lies in its insistence that His Person is sacramental. His humanity which all men can touch and understand is the revelation and mediation of the Nature and Being of God. "He was made human, that we might be made Divine."

It is important to note that the dissections of truth, branded as heresies by the General Councils, represented indifference not merely to definitions of specula-

tive theologians, but to the teaching of Holy Scripture. Moreover, the logical consequences were denials of the practical advantages which Christianity claims to give: If God became man, there has been in the life of that man Who was God Incarnate, a revelation of God; and further, there has been through God's undergoing human experience proof of His perfect sympathy with men, in both ways demonstration of the completeness of God's love. If the Incarnation be a fact, God has spoken to man and has shared his life, and also has taught in a way that cannot be misunderstood, that men may speak to Him and share His life. The practical consequences may be summarized in the two words *revelation* and *sympathy*.

If the contention of Arius, Nestorius, and other mere humanitarians be true, there has been no such revelation. If Jesus was merely highest of creatures, greatest of prophets, best of men, though his life may be taken by some as exhibition of the highest planes of humanity, it cannot be taken as revelation of God. If he were not really Divine, man is as far from knowledge of God since his life as before. Moreover, considering his claims, it will never be possible for many to take satisfaction in him as ideal man. His words and works recorded in the Gospels imply claim to be more than human. Hence those who shrink from the doctrine of the Incarnation must always assume either that he misrepresented his true nature, or that he has been misrepresented wholly by the only authoritative accounts we have of him. "Either God, or fraud;" and if not God, then no revelation.

"Naught but this, the living fulness
Of His own Immanuel name,
Links His human truth and pureness
With the splendors of His claim:
He that took the sovereign station
Where no angel durst come nigh,
Would be neither saint nor prophet,
Were He less than God most high."

On the other hand, if the Divine Son of God, appearing on earth, were not really human but only pretended to be, there would have been an elaborate delusion, impossible to connect with the thought of God, in the supposedly unmeaning detail of the life of over thirty years in Galilee and Judæa. If it were not possible for God really to enter into human experience, then the life of the apparition called Jesus exhibited not God's nearness and sympathy, but his immeasurable and impassable distance. In addition to this, there is the consideration emphasized by some of the Fathers that, as God redeemed humanity by assuming it, any part not assumed was not redeemed. He was either perfectly man, or He was a deluding phantom: and if His humanity were not real, there has been no redemption.

But if He were, as the Scriptures teach, the Creeds assert, and the Church has believed, both true God and true Man, then we can see that He is the true connecting-link between heaven and earth, and can understand the promise made to Nathanael, true son of Israel and typical believer in Christ, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye—like Israel in his dream—shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending—not as the first Israel did

on a mere ladder stretched between heaven and earth but—on the Son of Man." Our Lord Himself is the highest expression of the sacramental principle.

4. Closely parallel with the history of the Christian doctrine of Christ is the history of the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist. In every sacrament there are the two things, the outward and visible and the inward and spiritual. It destroys the nature of a sacrament to ignore or deny either the one or the other. In teaching and use of the Eucharist both errors have been exhibited. There have been those who utterly repudiated the idea of anything more than the outward sign. The bread and wine in the Eucharist merely typify food of the spirit given in independence of them. They may be suggestive signs; but as realities, they are only what outwardly and visibly they appear, bread and wine and nothing else. The contrary of this equally denies the nature of a sacrament, when, out of regard for the spiritual reality, it denies the permanence of what is outward and visible. It is unsacramental to say "There is no bread and wine left in the consecrated elements; the only things present are the Body and Blood of Christ." Eucharistic Nihilianism, or, to use the more usual term, Transubstantiation, born of the same impatient reverence as Eutychianism, has been equally disastrous in the Church. In both cases there has been failure to realize the truth which sacraments are intended to teach.

The formal statements of Eucharistic doctrine which correspond to the teaching of Scripture, like the formal statements of Christological doctrine, show even

parallelism of the double truth. Irenæus, for example, well represents the mind of the early Church: "As bread of earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two things, both an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of resurrection to eternity." The same teaching is pictorially represented in the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs. The commonest symbolic representation of the Eucharist shows a cross-marked loaf on a tripod, elevated above other loaves in baskets round about, but with the symbol of our Lord, the Fish. The loaf and Fish together quaintly symbolize the truth concerning the Holy Sacrament. Thus the art of the early Roman Church bears testimony against the one-sided presentations of later scholastic theologians. Strict Transubstantiation would exhibit the Fish without the loaf. This doctrine does, as the Article states, "destroy the nature of a sacrament," and has in fact been associated with disuse of Communion.[1] It represents an effort to define in terms of mediæval metaphysics the manner of the Presence in the Eucharist, an attempt never made by the theologians of the Eastern Church, who, using a word sometimes translated "Transubstantiation," so define it as to distinguish it from the word in its technical Latin sense. This

[1] It is necessary to note, however, that both to defenders and deniers Transubstantiation often means not this technical scholastic doctrine, but merely affirmation of the Real Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Sacrament, and also that well-recognized glosses of many Roman Catholic scholars protect the obscured truth.

the Russian Catechism defines the Communion as "a sacrament in which the believer under the forms of bread and wine partakes of the very Body and Blood of Christ to everlasting life." "In the exposition of the faith by the eastern patriarchs, it is said that the word μετουσίωσις is not to be taken to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord; for this none can understand but God; but only thus much is signified, that the bread truly, really and substantially become the very true Body of the Lord, and the wine, the very Blood of the Lord." Then St. John Damascene is quoted as giving a typical eastern statement. "It is truly that Body united with Godhead, which had its origin from the holy Virgin; not as though the Body which ascended came down from heaven, but because the bread and wine themselves are changed into the Body and Blood of God. But if thou seekest after the manner how this is, let it suffice thee to be told, that it is by the Holy Ghost; in like manner as by the same Holy Ghost, the Lord formed flesh to Himself, and in Himself, and from the Mother of God: nor know I aught more than this, that the Word of God is true, powerful and almighty, but its manner of operation unsearchable." [1]

In all ancient theologians are to be found similar statements of the reality of the spiritual presence with recognition of the permanence of the outward sign. It is in line with these that the Anglican Catechism teaches that there are two parts in every Sacrament,

[1] Russian Catechism. Cf. HEADLAM: *Teaching of the Russian Church*, pp. 8 f. note.

and that in the Eucharist the bread and wine are a means of receiving the Body and Blood of Christ. Analogous to sacramental presence is sacramental action. This is indicated in the Invocation in the Consecration Prayer. The Holy Spirit is invoked to bless and sanctify the elements that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ. The essential action is that of God: but there is action of man as well. This is emphasized in the words "that we receiving them may be partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ." As the common things of earth are necessary for the imparting of spiritual realities; so in the use of them it is necessary both that God act and that we act too. Both theoretical and practical doctrines of the Eucharist insist on the twofold nature of Sacraments and the clear recognition of these.

Throughout the history of the undivided Church the most characteristic Christian rite was the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and the most characteristic act of the Christian life the reception of it. Christians normally gave the Eucharist a supreme and central place, since it represented not only obedience to our Lord's injunction on the eve of His Passion, but also a practical application of the Incarnation principle, that the earthly, visible, and human may have contact with the heavenly, eternal and Divine. Emphasis that in the Eucharist there is the coming together of two things forces home the truth that the predominant thought and paramount duty is Communion. The practical consequence of denying either side of the sacramental truth has been neglect of this. The Zwinglian, insisting that in the Eucharist there is

nothing but a material sign of an absent reality, that the Sacraments are not really the means of grace but bare signs only, laid all stress on the faith in the recipient and made all virtue attach to the state of mind of him who used the symbol. Naturally he came to feel that a robust faith could dispense with symbols; and although he defended the use of them as harmless, or even in a mild way helpful, he came practically to feel that, though conventional, they were unnecessary. The result on the whole of Swiss influence has been to disparage Sacraments, the Eucharist in particular. On the other hand, theologians and ecclesiastics who insisted wholly on the Divine mystery, and to defend this taught the annihilation of the outward sign, also fostered neglect of Communion and a tendency to regard the Eucharist as a charm. It was left to priests to offer Mass as a vicarious sacrifice; and there was a general abstaining from Communion except at the comparatively infrequent times at which reception was imposed under penalties for neglect. Eucharistic Nihilianism has tended to remove the Holy Sacrament from actual use precisely as its Christological counterpart removed thought of our Lord from human life. The consequence of belief in all heaven and no earth has been very similar to insistence on all earth and no heaven. The Eucharist is the meeting-point of the material and the spiritual; and its true function is not realized if emphasis on either side induces loss of appreciation of the other. From the practical standpoint in the Christian life, the Eucharist is supreme and central: but it is supreme and central not as bare sign nor as remote mystery, but as sacrament.

3. Reference to the use of Sacraments leads naturally to consideration of the twofold elements and sides in the work of redemption. For the salvation of the individual soul God works; and man must work too. Men have erred by total reliance on the human effort, and by sole insistence on the Divine power. Against both the Church has taught that the process of salvation is sacramental, a meeting-point for God and man.

At many times and in many forms has the difficulty of correlating the two arisen; and it appears in various guises in our own time. But all essential features are to be seen in the Pelagian Controversy of the fifth century. Pelagius was a typical defender of the principles involved on the human side, the freedom of man's will and the essential goodness of creation. Himself a man of singularly pure character, he felt bound to protest against the moral slackness and flabbiness of many who persisted in sin, throwing all blame on the fall of Adam, and trusting to the Church to do for them what they would not try to do for themselves. He insisted on the possibility of living good lives and on the necessity of moral effort, rightly insisting on the potential goodness of human nature created in the image of God. But he ventured to affirm, "A man may by himself be sinless, if he wishes it." He denied that there was in man inherent tendency to sin, or handicap in heredity, that man needed any grace of God other than the powers given him in creation, and that there was need of Sacraments as means of grace. All, he maintained, that was necessary for man's salvation was that he should use his innate powers. He regarded each man as an

isolated unit, unrelated to history and independent of society. Like many another amiable theorist he was led astray by a one-sided ideal for humanity which had little to do with men. His good intentions were unmistakable: but he ignored facts. His vision of what man ought to be, and of what he would like to think the world to be, blinded him to facts of what man and the world are. He laid necessary stress on one side of the problem, but did irreparable harm by not seeing that there was another. Actuated by an earnestness sincerely Christian, he evacuated the Christian system of meaning; and, teaching in the name of Christ, sought to separate men from the help that Christ gives.

In the discussions he roused he had two chief opponents, St. Jerome, then in the East, and St. Augustine in the West. Augustine in particular became the champion of God's sovereignty and the Church's great Doctor of Grace. The chief theme of much of his writing was that in each act and stage of his existence man is dependent on the grace of God, that there is necessity for Divine action and initiative in the process of human salvation. He could not forget the depths of his own sin, and that he had himself been snatched as a brand from the burning. In his writings as a whole it is possible to discover that he does justice to both elements in the process of salvation, that he recognized the necessity of the response of human faith to the overtures of Divine grace; but in some of his treatises he loses sense of proportion, and so magnifies the function of the Divine as to eliminate the human. The extremes of Augustine were not

accepted by the Church any more than the extremes of Pelagius. The Council of Orange in 529, representing the deliberate mind of the Church on these matters, avoided both extremes, asserting the complementary truths without undertaking fully to explain their meaning or their consistency.

In modern times, discussions concerning God's predestination and man's free will have ensued from the teachings of the Swiss reformers. Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin made more absolute statements concerning the Divine sovereignty, and more unflinchingly drew the inevitable conclusions of their own logic, than ever Augustine did. The foundation of their theology was Divine Omnipotence, their central thought always that of the Divine Will. To protect this they did not hesitate to deny any real freedom of man's will nor to assert that God was the Author of evil. The following are characteristic assertions of Zwingli: "It is God Who moves the robber to murder one who is innocent even though he be unprepared to die." "It is He Who made Adam disobedient and the angel a transgressor. The treachery of Judas like the adultery of David is as much God's work as the call of St. Paul." "Judas and Cain were as much rejected to eternal misery before the foundation of the world as the Blessed Virgin and the crucified thief were chosen to blessedness." Zwingli probably shuddered at some of his own statements; but he would not shrink from any conclusion which seemed to follow from the principle which was, in his opinion, the basis of all faith. Calvin is equally explicit in his *Institutes*, though the statements seem less harsh from not being applied

to concrete cases. "We assert that those whom He gives over to damnation are by a just and irreprehensible, though incomprehensible, judgment excluded from all access to eternal life." [1] "Therefore if we cannot give a reason why God has mercy on the elect except that it so pleases Him, so in the reprobation of others we have no cause but God's will." [2] "All the sons of Adam fall by the will of God into their present state of misery, and, as for the reason of it, we must always fall back on the mere choice of the Divine will, the reason of which is hidden from us." [3] "I grant that it is a horrible decree, yet no one can deny that God foreknew the end of man before He formed him, and foreknew it because by His own decree He ordained it." [4] Calvin did not hesitate to admit that, according to his teaching, God chooses "capriciously, arbitrarily, and irrationally." As has been well said, "Calvinism sacrifices everything to the conception of omnipotence, and in so doing makes God immoral and man non-moral." [5] This theology has provoked violent reaction and protest. If God were as Calvin represented Him, many men have refused to believe in God. The declaration of John Stuart Mill is classic, "I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures: and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

One of the chief consequences of this distortion of the truth of God's sovereignty by the inflexibility of a fero-

[1] *Inst.* III: cxxvi: 7. [2] *Inst.* III: cxxxii: 11.
[3] *Inst.* III: cxxxiii: 4. [4] *Inst.* III: cxxiii: 7.
[5] Moore: *History of the Reformation,* 501–518.

cious logic, this flagrant denial of patent facts in human life, has been violent reaction in favor of what, according to Calvin, was a damnable and damned humanity. For the past two centuries there has been much insistence on the essential goodness of human nature, the actual goodness, disguised it may be but unmistakable, in the majority of men, a passionate defense of the goodness of God the Creator, and many efforts to bring into prominence the obscured truth of God's Fatherhood. Much of the influence of Unitarianism has been due to its sympathetic humanism, as contrasted with Calvinistic denunciations. Men have turned with relief from such statements as Calvin's that "God's image in man is wholly defaced" and "man is wholly given to evil" to optimism like Channing's, "I love mankind because they are children of God." Channing gained a hearing by preaching a gospel of health and hope. He insisted on the dignity of human nature, on the germ of progress in every human being, and on the unspeakable value of each human soul. He felt that vilification of human nature was "like a wrong done to an angel." Through his influence and that of men like him, there has developed a strong humanitarianism, which in many forms has tended to concentrate attention too exclusively on the human side of things. Positivism, for example, knows no higher object of worship than collective humanity. "Man must be his own Gospel," says Frederic Harrison, "He must reveal truth to himself — by himself. He must found or frame his own religion — or must have none." The Positivist holds that man's supreme function is self-contemplation, so

that what is called prayer, like the Pharisee's in the parable, takes the form of complacency at one's own superiority to the rest of mankind. As Emerson once said to Whittier, "There lives an old Calvinist in that house who says that she prays for me every day. I am glad she does. I pray for myself." "Does thee?" said Whittier. "What dost thee pray for, friend Emerson?" "Well," replied Emerson, "when I first open my eyes upon the morning meadows and look out upon the beautiful world, I thank God that I am alive, and that I live so near Boston." There is something at first sight attractive, but on second thought singularly unsatisfactory, about such self-satisfied, self-poised lives.

It is doubtful whether a tendency to identify the ideal with the actual ought to be called optimism. It is, at any rate, an optimism which is impatient and shallow in that it refuses to take account of all the facts. The truest criticism of enthusiasts for humanity as it is, is that they lower its proper standard. Such enthusiasm for humanity is in reality despair for humanity. "The saddest view of human nature is that it has not fallen." Enthusiasm for what humanity is not, but what man knows it ought to be, is truer and more inspiring than blind devotion to things as they are. There can be no satisfactory religion which does not recognize the essential and potential goodness of humanity: but neither can any religion be satisfactory which does not recognize its actual degradation. Sin is a fact. "I see things that are better and approve of them; yet I turn from them for the worse," may be said at times by every man.

Religion must never ignore either the ideal or the actual. It must combine the hope of the optimist with the clear vision of the pessimist. As Pascal observed, "It is dangerous to make man consider overmuch that he is on equality with beasts without pointing out also his greatness. It is also dangerous to make him consider overmuch his greatness without noting his degradation. It is still more dangerous to let him ignore either the one or the other. It is most to his advantage to call attention to both."

There have been curious illustrations of combination of devotion to the Divine in theory with exclusive care for the human in practice, of soaring theology with grovelling selfishness. Some of the most rigorous predestinarians among Calvinists have been Epicureans in practice. They have exalted the Divine Will in theology; but they have followed their own wills in every-day life. They have assumed the identity of God's Will with their own wilfulness; and, as in the parallel case of the Mohammedans, belief in predestination, which left a man hopeless and helpless in abstract statement, made him irresistibly effective on the battle-field and in the scramble for this world's goods. It has been not uncommon for thoroughgoing predestinarians to assume as the ruling principle of life, "God from all eternity by His irresistible Will has decreed that I do exactly as I please," a conviction which has given both force and ferocity of character. When analyzed it may sometimes be seen that theoretical fear of God has not meant real apprehension of man's dependence on His Maker and Saviour.

4. Similar to the principles of the doctrine of Grace is the Church's teaching concerning Inspiration. Inspiration means that God uses man and gives him power to carry out His purposes. The process involves neither supersession of the human by the Divine nor elimination of the Divine in the human. The name inspiration stands for every aspect and consequence of the fact that a man may be endued with power from on high; but it is usually identified with the Spirit's use of the Evangelists for the perpetuation of Divine truth. The books of Scripture show how entirely everything that is human may be taken and utilized for Divine purposes, and that in the results of human activities may be discovered something more than human which, when analyzed, must be ascribed to God. The books of the Bible were written by men, and yet are not as other books. There is something mingled with the human element in them which differentiates them from other literature, even the noblest. The only satisfactory explanation of them is that "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

Two sorts of theories of inspiration do violence to the facts: first, those which taking the Scriptures as human productions refuse to see in them anything more than ordinary compositions of man, and in dealing with them drag them to a level which eliminates all that is most distinctive; and second, those which assume that the Divine action involves use of men as impersonal machines, and in consequence assert that every word, syllable, Hebrew point of the Massoretic

text, and variant reading of authorized translations, must be taken as infallible and indelible handwriting of God. Inspiration is a sacramental process, in which traces of both Divine and human action may be seen. It is an inspiration of men, not of things. In thinking of Scripture the inspired book is only understood as we think of the inspired man behind the inspired book, and of the inspiring Holy Spirit behind the man. The Church's statements concerning inspiration of Scripture do not imply either that it is a case of all man and no God, or of all God and no man. They teach that the Spirit of God uses the powers of obedient man, and that in the process of evangelistic work God and man work together.

It may seem that the matters we have been considering have only an antiquarian or academic interest. On the contrary they have present and permanent importance as illustrations of the law which relates the life of man to the life of God. As these two things have been considered, there have often been oscillations from exclusive consideration of the one to exclusive consideration of the other: and the Christian Church has always striven to preserve a stable equilibrium which gives due regard to both. The experience of the past has present value in its exhibitions of the laws of truth which must ever condition our own tasks.

Infinite hope, infinite humility — these are the proper ingredients of man's normal consciousness. Spiritual life, like physical, depends upon the coalition of two elements, a masculine and a feminine, generative

grace acting upon receptive faith. For growth there must be coördination of wills, man's with God's. Individual salvation depends upon individual appropriation of the effects of the Atonement, which must be conceived not only as an act of God for man which he could not perform for himself, but also an exhibition on the part of pattern man of obedience unto death, a symbolical representation of the work of redemption in which man himself plays a part. Personal relation always involves interaction of personal force; and in the relation between the Divine and human persons there is a reciprocal action which alone gives reality to spiritual experience. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, God working directly upon man and in man by rousing man's own spirit into coöperation, correlates the functions of man and God in the redemptive process.

Humanity and the world are sacramental. Each represents electric forces playing between two poles. There is no clue to the meaning of either except through recognition that that which comes from God, though distinct from God, must always be related to Him; and moreover, that that nature which has been created in God's image with freedom of will and capacity for personal life, must always be taken into account in dealing with practical affairs. The tragedies of history and the annoyances of every-day life alike come from failure to apprehend the principle of the Word made flesh. It is by standing squarely on the basis of the truth revealed in Him, that we are in the best way of solving the puzzles and problems which perplex our daily paths.

It is unsatisfactory merely to place side by side differing, contrasting, and sometimes seemingly contradictory, truths without effort to relate or to harmonize them. We believe in the unity of truth; and we wish to see it. The sacramental principle is essentially antithetic; yet the Sacrament itself is a synthesis. The clue to the meaning of all sacramental truth is to be found in our Lord Himself. If He, subsisting in two natures, is the great Sacrament, the union of these two in His one Person is the type of unity. If in Him we find the principle of life which impels us to make distinctions between the Creator and the creature, and to think along two lines, in Him also we find the fact of coinherence which gives the law and principle of unity in truth and in life. The Sacrament which distinguishes also combines; and in Him Who would seem to be the most striking example of distinction and division, there is on the contrary the most perfect harmony and unity. It is the Gospel which gives the clue to the meaning of God's life and of our own.

"Therefore men that read the story
Of the Manger and the Rood,
Well may greet the only Gospel
Straight from Him the only Good:
Heart and mind go forth to meet it;
This is light, or light is none, —
To believe in God the Father
And in Jesus Christ His Son.

"This is light; — where dimness lingers,
Faith can wait till shadows flee;
And Life's riddles less perplex us,
When the truth has made us free.

Yea, the Truth and Light Incarnate —
For if Christ we truly scan,
Him we trust in, we must worship,
Word made Flesh, and God made Man "[1]

[1] BRIGHT: *Hymns and Other Verses, Credo in Deum.*

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

THE sacramental principle underlies the history of the Christian Church; and many controversies in the Christian past are best understood as representing efforts on the part of the Church to be loyal to both sides of this. The conflict in modern times between the types of thought commonly known as Catholic and Protestant may be viewed in the same way. It is the purpose of this paper to consider the significance of these in the history of the Church.[1]

I

The name Catholic — Universal — has been applied to the Christian Church from earliest times. It was apparently in common use in the early part of the second century, a fact which implies its probable adoption during the Apostolic Age. Ignatius of Antioch,

[1] The reading of the paper at the Cathedral Conference was prefaced as follows: "The announcement of the title *Catholic and Protestant* will suggest to some of you that I intend to speak of the proposed 'change of name' for the Protestant Episcopal Church. Such an intention I disclaim. It is true that this choice of subject has been suggested by the discussion at this time, and that all the facts rehearsed have direct bearing upon it: but these facts have deeper significance than what concerns the common title of a religious body in the United States. I have taken no part in this discussion and have not become excited about it. I know little of its

writing to the Church in Smyrna about the year 110, says, "Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let

details. I have received dozens of pamphlets on the subject; but I have read none of them, nor have I followed the matter in Church papers. My work confines me to a country diocese where I live outside the discussions of newspapers and Church Clubs. Nevertheless I have opinions on the subject of 'change of name,' formed from what general knowledge I have of the state of the Christian world and of the need for an effective presentation of Christianity in my own diocese, and these opinions I am perfectly willing to express. Lest my disclaimer of intention not to enter this controversy may seem to indicate desire to dodge a burning question by taking refuge in the coolness of generalities, I will state briefly what my opinions are merely because I wish to dismiss them.

"1. I believe that a change in the legal title of the Protestant Episcopal Church would be a good thing. I was in hearty sympathy with the proposal made at the last General Convention to relate the common title to the name of the whole Church enshrined in the Creeds. The unchangeable name of the Church of Christ, the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, stands for the positive ideals of the Divine Society which it is the duty of all Christians to realize more fully in themselves. It is unfortunate — in a sense, wrong — that separate groups of Christians need any other name than this. It is mere advertisement of a divided Christendom that separated bodies have to choose their respective labels, the badges of schism. Yet under present conditions the distinguishing names are necessary; and they should express as Christian ideals as possible. There are names of two sorts, those which express some aspect of Christian truth, and those which perpetuate some historic quarrel. The name 'Protestant Episcopal' is one of the latter sort. It commemorates, first, a quarrel between the Church of England and the Church of Rome in the sixteenth century, and, second, a quarrel between the Church of England and Puritans in the seventeenth. 'Protestant Episcopalians' are nominally those whose characteristic quality is that they continue to quarrel with Romanists and Calvinists. I believe that the Church of England had ground for its quarrels; otherwise I should not belong to the Anglican Communion;

the people be: even as where Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church." This is the first occurrence of the

but it would be more helpful to have a name for the Church which emphasized points of agreement with Roman Catholics and Presbyterians than one which merely called attention to points of difference. *Christianity consists of faith in the Living Christ, not in perpetuation of quarrels of dead men.* The name borne by any religious body had better express an ideal than chronicle a calamity. Alexander Campbell was quite right in not wishing his followers to be called 'Campbellites,' a name recalling his own personal controversies with Presbyterians and Baptists, but rather 'Disciples of Christ,' a name expressing of the universal Christian ideal, which has doubtless had an excellent effect in uplifting the standards of those who specially wish to bear it. The men of the eighteenth century who adopted the name 'Protestant Episcopal' did the best they knew how to select a title which seemed appropriately to place them in the context of religious life in America: but the name is not one calculated to win men to devotion to the highest Christian principles for America. I believe that a change of this name is desirable and inevitable, and that when it is made, we shall be better equipped for our work.

"2. However, any change of this kind must come in response to a very general and spontaneous wish in the Church as a whole, not by the forced action of a narrow majority in a controversy. Moreover, there should be general acquiescence in the common title chosen as substitute. At this time conditions in the Church do not seem ripe for the change. I dislike the expression 'inexpedient at the present time,' which usually means, 'We know perfectly well that we ought to do a particular thing, but have not the moral courage to do it.' Yet it might describe the present situation to say that, though change of this name is desirable, it is not desirable that it be made now, because at some future time it can be made better.

"3. The discussion of the matter is a good thing. It has an educative value. But as some one said to me, 'What we need is not so much change of name as change of heart,' or as it might be put, '*not so much change of names as realization of things.*' We can-

term in any document which has happened to survive: but Ignatius refers to the followers of our Lord, the universal society, by a title which he evidently expected those whom he addressed to recognize. Over forty years later, the Church in Smyrna which had been greeted by Ignatius on his way to martyrdom at Rome, issued an account of the martyrdom of its own Bishop, Polycarp, in the form of a letter to the church in Philomelium. This letter commenced: "The Church of God which sojourneth in Smyrna to the Church of God which sojourneth in Philomelium and to all the brotherhoods of the Holy Catholic Church sojourning in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied." Thus in the middle of the second century was the Church throughout the world distinguished from the local congregations which composed it. In the literature of the late second century the title frequently occurs, and no other is used in the same way. It was, as matter of course, taken as the Church's characteristic title in formal professions of belief, the Creeds.

Its first use was probably intended not only to dis-

not change the Church of God, though we may ourselves gradually grow into greater appreciation of what it means. Discussion of names is mere scratching on the surface. What we need is to lay hold of the principles of eternal life which lie behind some of the names which we habitually and unthinkingly use.

"Although I have deliberately chosen to speak of the historic significance of the names *Catholic* and *Protestant*, because I believe the thought of them to be much in our minds at this time, I shall miss my aim altogether, if what I say seems merely to relate to a matter of local appellation, rather than to principles of spiritual life which pertain to eternity and all mankind."

tinguish the whole Church from local bodies, but also to mark a difference between the Christian Church and the Jewish, the former being universal while the latter was only racial. This characteristic of Christianity disappointed the expectation of the Jews who believed that their race had a monopoly of God's favour; and it contradicts all theories of God's workings which would restrict His grace to narrow channels, or deny possibility of salvation to any race or class of men. The possible scope of the Church's influence is as wide as humanity.[1] It was St. Paul who first learned and then taught the truth that the Church is an Universal Church in which Gentiles are fellow-heirs of God's promises side by side with Jews. The term has a twofold suggestion. It has reference to the whole human race as the sphere of the Church's potential influence, and to God as Creator of the race. It connects the thought of the Church with that of the creation of man, rather than, as was done by the Jewish Church, with the call of Abraham and the deliverance from Egypt.

A side-light on its significance may be thrown by the fact that at the time of its general adoption the Church was engaged in controversies with Gnostics. Against Gnostic dualism with its teaching of the evil of the material world, produced by a being inferior or hostile to God, with its insistence on the evil of the body, and its restriction of redemption to a limited number of enlightened elect, the Church proclaimed in the forefront of the Creed its belief in God the

[1] This is expanded in a paper on *The Catholic Church* given in the Appendix, pp. 111–114.

Father Almighty, not sharing sway with a hostile deity, in God as Maker not only of spiritual heaven but also of material earth, of things visible as well as things invisible, of man's body as well as of his spirit. And this God Who had created all things and had seen that they were good, was the Saviour and Redeemer, not of an esoteric band merely as Gnostics taught, nor of the seed of Abraham only as Jews believed, but of all men. "God willeth all men to be saved;" and His Church, organ and medium of salvation, is intended for all mankind. "Whosoever will, let him come." This thought of the whole human race as object of the Church's effort was connected with thought of God as universal Creator, and also with thought of our Lord as not merely Second Abraham, father of the faithful in one nation, Jewish Messiah, but as Second Adam, progenitor of the whole race, the Catholic Man. This sequence of thought has its origin in St. Paul. It was he who first elaborated the idea of our Lord's cosmic relations, presenting Him as "first-born of all creation." "All things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist. And He is the head of the body, the Church. . . . For it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself; by Him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." [1] He also presented the Church as the Catholic Organism. "Now in Christ Jesus ye who were sometimes far off are made nigh by the blood of

[1] Col. i: 15–20.

Christ. For He is our peace, Who hath made both one, and hath broken down midwalls of partition." [1] The scope of redemption is as wide as the scope of creation; and the Church's limits are therefore merely those of the human race. Abstractly considered, the term Catholic applied to the Church elevates the thought to God the universal Father and expands it to all humanity as an universal brotherhood. "To as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God."

Concretely considered, the term Catholic has in the history of the Church been used to emphasize a number of principles less fundamental.[2] Used at first of the Church as being world-wide in extent,[3] it came to be the special name for the Church, so that a martyr on his trial when asked of what Church he was, replied "Of the Catholic, for Christ has no other." During the late second century it became a term to distinguish the Church as a whole from sects and groups of Christians who adopted names taken from places and party leaders. A Catholic Christian was one who repudiated all merely local bodies and select parties; and the Catholic Church was distinguished from heretical and schismatical sects. Thus Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona during the latter part of the fourth century, writing

[1] Eph. ii: 11–22.

[2] Such comments as are here made are by no means exhaustive. They are true as far as they go; but they do not, and do not pretend to, cover the whole ground. They are to be taken as fragmentary contribution toward, not as complete outline of, the discussion of a great subject.

[3] Cf. Optatus II:46. *Cum inde dicta sit Catholica, quod sit rationalis et ubique diffusa.*

to a Novatian friend, Sempronian, follows this line in a letter on "The Catholic Name." [1] "There ought," he says, "to be no contest about the name Catholic. For if it is through God that our people obtain this name, no question is to be raised, when Divine authority is followed. If through man, we must discover when it was first taken. Then if the name is good, no odium rests with it: if ill, it need not be envied. The Novatians, I hear, are called after Novatus or Novatian; yet it is the sect which I accuse in them, not the name: nor has any one objected their name to Montanus or the Phrygians. But under the Apostles, you will say, no one was called Catholic. Be it so. Thus it shall have been. Allow even that. But when after the Apostles heresies burst forth, and were striving under various names to tear piecemeal and divide the Dove and Queen of God, did not the Apostolic people require a name of their own, whereby to mark the unity of the people that were uncorrupted, lest the error of some rend limb by limb the undefiled virgin of God? Was it not seemly that the chief head should be distinguished by its own peculiar appellation? Suppose this very day I entered a populous city. When I found Marcionites, Apollinarians, Cataphrygians, Novatians, and others of the kinds who call themselves Christians, by what name should I recognize the congregation of my own people, unless it were named Catholic? Certainly that which has stood for so many ages was not borrowed from men. This name Catholic sounds not of Marcion, of Apelles, or of Montanus, nor does it take heretics as its authors.

[1] PACIAN: Epistle I: 5–8, esp. 8.

. . . Is the authority of Apostolic men, of primitive priests, of slight weight with us? . . . Shall the fathers follow our authority and the antiquity of saints give way to be amended by us, and times now putrefying through their sins pluck out the grey hairs of Apostolic age? And yet, my brother, be not troubled: Christian is my name, but Catholic is my surname. The former gives me a name, the latter distinguishes me. By the one I am approved; by the other I am but marked. And if at last we must give an account of the word Catholic, and draw it out from the Greek by a Latin interpretation, 'Catholic' is 'everywhere one' — *ubique unum* — or, as learned men think, 'obedience in all,' *i.e.*, all the commands of God. . . . Therefore he who is a Catholic, the same man is obedient. He who is obedient, the same is a Christian: and thus the Catholic is a Christian. Wherefore our people when named Catholic are separated by this appellation from the heretical name. But if also the word Catholic means 'everywhere one,' as those first think, . . . amidst all she is one, and one over all. If thou askest the reason of the name, enough has been said."

This explanation of Pacian, a western Bishop trained in the school of Cyprian, indicates very well the part played by the name Catholic Church during the conciliar period. The Universal Church was distinguished from small bodies of Christians, who, at different times and places, adopted some specialty proclaimed as the chief thing in Christianity and endeavored to perpetuate their peculiarity by corporate organization. The World Church was set over against the petty societies of particular places

and persons. The distinction could be easily made in the days of undivided Christendom, the day, that is, not when all Christians were completely of one mind, but when the intercommunion of Bishops throughout the world, acting under the leadership of the great historic sees, preserved a general union of Christians and held the Church together as one organization, the unity of which the world could see. Differences and divergencies there might be; but there was as yet no division except the self-isolation of inconsiderable fractions here and there. The term "Catholic Church" stood out in the fulness of its obvious outward meaning until the separation of East and West. Even after this, it still kept much of its significance, since appeal could be made to the teaching of the undivided Church, and for long the feeling was maintained that the two parts of the Church, though for a time out of communion, were still one. But after a time, each of the two great divisions of Christendom claimed by itself to be the only true Church.

The East claimed, and still claims, that it alone can be recognized as the Catholic Church. It has never changed; but the West, it argues, cut itself off, thereby going into schism, and can only be restored to the Church by submission to the terms imposed by the eastern patriarchates which have never swerved from the ancient faith. It is not always sufficiently recognized that the Greek Church makes as exclusive claims to be the one true Church as does the Latin. Rome, it considers, was the primitive Protestant, which defied Church-authority and cut itself off, thereby establishing a bad precedent which has been farther

followed in the fickle West. The following is a typical statement of the attitude of the Eastern Church to the Christian world.

"By the will of God the Holy Church, after the falling away of many schisms and of the Roman Patriarchate, was preserved by the Greek Eparchies and Patriarchates, and only those communities can acknowledge one another as fully Christian, which preserve their unity with the Eastern Patriarchates, or enter into this unity. For there is one God and one Church, and within her there is neither dissension or disagreement. And, therefore, the Church is called Orthodox, or Eastern, or Greco-Russian; but all these are only temporary designations. The Church ought not to be accused of pride for calling herself Orthodox, inasmuch as she also calls herself Holy. When false doctrines shall have disappeared, there will be no further need of the name Orthodox: for then there will be no erroneous Christianity. When the Church shall have extended herself, or the fulness of the nations shall have entered into her, then all local appellations will cease; for the Church is not bound up with any locality, and neither boasts herself of any particular see or territory, nor preserves the inheritance of Pagan pride: but she calls herself One Holy Catholic and Apostolic: knowing that the whole world belongs to her, and that no locality therein possesses any special significance, but only temporarily can and does serve for the glorification of the name of God, according to His unsearchable will."[1]

[1] KHOMIAKOFF quoted in BIRKBECK: *Russia and the English Church*, p. 222.

The attitude of the Church of Rome scarcely calls for comment. The great patriarchal See of the West, forced into a position of ecclesiastical leadership by a combination of circumstances, inheriting not only Apostolic traditions from its Christian beginnings, but also the imperial traditions of the Eternal City, passed from a position of patriarchal primacy to one of supremacy over the churches of western Europe, and gradually evolved a theory of the Church and of unity which it has sought to impose on the Christian World. Since the beginning of the Middle Ages the Roman Bishop has claimed to be ruler of the Church and World by Divine right, by inheritance of the position of Vicar of Christ from St. Peter. The See of Peter is head and centre of the Church; and to be Catholic Christian is to be in communion with the Pope.

The upheaval of western Christendom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries further complicated matters. The claims of many to have discovered the only true Biblical Christianity has set up many new standards; and many bodies have claimed to represent the true spirit of the Catholic Church, using the term in such a way as virtually to empty it of concrete significance. Yet there has been persistent hold of the name and yearning for the thing it represents among the manifold divisions of the Protestant world. As Dr. Newman Smyth writes in a recent article:[1] "One primary idea appears in all these Confessional definitions of the Church; their common heritage and hope, which none of them would lose, is denoted by the ever-recurring word Catholic. The

[1] *Constructive Quarterly*, No. 2, p. 231.

catholicity which is ascribed primarily in these declarations to the invisible Church, is recognized also explicitly by some, and implicitly in others, as a true note likewise also of the visible Church. It is generally held and declared that particular churches should retain their fellowship in, and realize their obligations to, the one Catholic Church. The reformers of the sixteenth century, it should be remembered, did not set the words, Protestant and Catholic, in hostile antithesis. . . . The word Catholic remains among Protestants to this day, hallowed and lifted up above our 'unhappy divisions' as the ideal oneness of all communions." Dr. Smyth's definition of Catholic is worth remembering, "the ideal oneness of all communions."

There was once an actual unity of the majority of those bearing the Christian name, which made it natural to speak of the Catholic Church. Although this has long ceased to be, the ideal of Catholic Unity is still maintained even among many who have drifted far from the corporate sense to which the ideal owes any actual embodiment. It counts for much that among the great majority of Christians at the present day there is growing conviction that there ought to be unity of faith among all who profess themselves servants of Christ, and that this unity of faith ought to exhibit itself in the unity of One Church for the world. The Catholic aspiration is a common possession; and more and more is there conviction that by humility and patience effort must be made to realize the Catholic Church in fact. It is almost inevitable for men to hold to the Catholic ideal, if they have

anything of the historic sense. The Catholic Church is the Church of the Fathers, different in ways from all existing presentations of Christianity, yet with clearly defined principles and aspects which have never been wholly lost in the shattering of divisions. It still exists underneath as well as behind the fractions of the Christian world; and its principles are revealed by fragmentary expression. The conception of the Universal Church can never be ignored by those who can look behind and beyond things of the moment to the things which belong to all time.

The history of the name Catholic is practically coeval with that of the Church. During nineteen centuries it has been used in different senses of which six may be distinguished. (1) The Universal Church as distinct from the Jewish Church. If, as is probable, this formed part of its primary meaning, it expresses the favorite thesis of St. Paul. (2) The World Church as distinct from local churches or congregations. In this sense it is used by Ignatius and in the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp. (3) The World Church as distinct from heretical and schismatical sects. This is the special meaning attached to it in the treatise of Pacian on The Catholic Name. All these meanings entered into the connotation in the days of the undivided Church. (4) The Greek Church, representing the four eastern patriarchates, which believes itself alone to be the primitive Catholic Church since the defection of the West. (5) The Roman Communion, maintaining that it alone is the Church on the theory that prerogatives of St. Peter as Vicar of Christ have descended to the Roman Papacy, which is thus Divinely

established as visible head of the Church and centre and bond of visible unity. (6) "The ideal oneness of all Christians," associated by some with recognition of that background of historic principle which links the Church of the early centuries with Churches of today. As used by many of ourselves, the name Catholic Church represents a theory and a fact, the theory of the unity of all sharers in the One Baptism of the One Lord and the fact of the continuity in Christian history of certain structural principles of faith and life which make it possible to recognize the survival of the One Church in the fragmentary presentation of a divided Christendom.

These different uses of the name Catholic have expressed with varying degrees of clearness certain main ideas, of which four may be specified as most important: (1) The Divine element in the Church, (2) the corporate aspect of religious life, (3) the authority of the Church, and (4) the mystical character of the Church's life. These all hang together. The first is the distinctive principle, the others corollaries. The Church comes from God, and is the sphere of His special activity. It follows as necessary consequence that it conforms to the social law of creation, that it represents His authority, and that its life consists of contact with Him.

(1) The fundamental idea of the Catholic conception of the Church is that it is a Divine organism, a society in which there is special and supernatural activity of Almighty God, "a Divine society with a human mission." The Catholic idea starts with God, proceeds from thought of Him to that of all creation,

and thence to the universal scope of salvation of which the Church is appointed instrument. It is concerned with the only theory which gives the life and worship of the Church intelligible meaning. Following a necessary order of thought, it traces everything from its origin in God.

(2) The mission of the Church to all men necessarily lays stress on its corporate aspect, on the fact that it is a family not a mere aggregation of units, a body not a dust-heap.[1] The Church is a "new creation"; and the method of salvation or recreation is analogous to that of the original creation. God created man and woman with powers of begetting a race: His creative function was put into commission. He placed man on the earth with the command, "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it." In the era of the new creation, He again sent men with powers of begetting a new race by a new birth with the command, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." The principle of salvation is that of creation, that man gains all his powers and possibilities of self-realization as member of a family, that God's gifts are given to the race, that the individual only can share them by inheritance and association. Normal human life abhors isolation as Nature abhors a vacuum.

(3) Both these principles, the Divine origin of the

[1] As Burke speaks of "the dust and powder of individualism," or another, *Hibernior Hibernis*, of "the uselessness of un-unified units"!

Church and the social method of salvation, lead to thought of the Church's authority. The Church represents God; or more exactly, it is the Body of Christ, Christ's Vicar on earth. In so far as it truly represents His teaching and activity, it is invested with Divine authority. "He that receiveth you receiveth Me." It is an Apostolic Church, a Church having mission from Christ; and the idea of authority is inherent in that of Apostolicity. Furthermore, as a society it represents something paramount to the claims of individuals. The many members of the body must discharge their respective functions with the harmony of the subordination. The body must be considered as a whole; no member has use or life except as one of many coördinate parts. There is, therefore, in any body an authority to which all component parts must submit. So in the Church. From the thought of the Body as body comes the idea of authority as well as from thought of that Body's Head. The practical consequence of adherence to the Catholic conception of the Church is the spirit of obedience. Pacian, after making his much-quoted utterance, "Christian is my name, Catholic my surname," almost immediately adds, "Therefore he who is a Catholic, the same man is obedient." Catholicity in principle involves reverent submission to authority in practice. Nothing more sincerely expresses belief in the Divine character of the Church than recognition of the paramount claims of the whole Church over those of special interests and recognition of leadership in its constituted officers. Yet there are many examples of discrepancy between the theory and practice of professed Catholics.

As in the case of extreme predestinarians the theory of Divine absolutism has been made a cloak for wilfulness and eccentricity in conduct, so the Catholic theory of the Church has sometimes been made a stalking-horse for mundane politics and for ultra-assertions of private judgment. The great example of the former is the identification of the interests of the Catholic Church with the ecclesiastical transformation of the Roman Empire, sometimes appearing as Papal autocracy, sometimes as Curial oligarchy. There are examples of the latter in those who, claiming almost a monopoly of the Catholic name, are conspicuous examples of Protestant individualism in their wilful following of their own theories in defiance of authority. But caricatures must not be allowed to obscure truth. The Catholic theory always expresses the principle of authority; but this authority is that of the Church's Divine Head, which has to be protected from disguising nullifications in the traditions of men. The Church has to speak and act in our Lord's Name for the sake of doing His work. When she does this, she has His authority: but no appropriation of sacred names can give authority to teaching and action alien from His spirit. There have been times when the Church has striven to exercise authority for authority's own sake and for the apparent enhancing of her own reputation.[1] Authority cannot be dispensed with: but its poles

[1] In the School which I attended as a boy, there was a master of the lower forms of whom this story was told. One day he announced, "The Amazon River is three hundred thousand miles long." Up went the hands of sundry small boys. "Please, sir, the book says *three* thousand." "Silence," roared the pedagogue, "*I say* the

are those of truth and right. Only as it preserves these two can it be justified; but it is justified in those who are genuinely loyal to our Lord. "Only they who obey know how to command." Capacity for rule inheres in the spirit of submission. Exercise of authority may be a tyranny; and there has been tyrannous assertion of false authority in the Church. Yet there is a true authority which is only laying on the shoulders of faithful servants the easy yoke of Christ. In the service which involves recognition of Him as Master and Lord lies the secret of perfect freedom.

(4) Thought of God also involves consciousness of the mystical character of the Church's life. The lifting up of hearts unto our Lord involves the spirit of prayer, the habit of worship, the seeking of Divine realities through human and material means and signs, sacramental activity. The Catholic-minded are essentially mystics. In modern times, emphasis on the Catholic idea has often meant chiefly this, that in

Amazon River is three hundred thousand miles long. Say it after me." And they all did. The length of the Amazon was a matter of indifference to him: his own reputation for infallibility was all-important. He was determined to maintain the latter, and believed he did so, even though there were dangers of excessive irrigation in South America! Yet all the time the Amazon pursued its comparatively limited course. Ecclesiastical infallibility has sometimes resembled that of this uneasy schoolmaster. The Roman tendency to rule has striven to dominate the complexities of truth and the complications of life, even laws of Nature which are refractory when not controlled by being obeyed. Yet the earth has moved, as Galileo muttered, and has carried even Rome along with it. In the same way many Protestant prophets, caring more for definiteness than for accuracy, have often sacrificed paramount claims of truth.

the Church and in all life we may be conscious of the special action of the Spirit of God, and may lay hold on spiritual things which belong to eternal life. Catholicism is alive to the meaning of Whitsunday. Belief in the Church is merely consequence of belief in the Holy Spirit, as belief in the Holy Spirit is consequent upon belief in our Lord. A true Catholic is one who does not regard the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as a mystifying version of some ancient event with which we have little practical concern, but who sees in it the inauguration of the era in which we ourselves live, the explanation of those things which chiefly concern us. His type and habit of mind is constitutionally deductive. He draws all inferences from Divine premises, is concerned primarily with first principles, and, in thinking first of God and then of the world in relation to God, follows the normal order of religious thought. "In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; and the Word was God." There is the preliminary statement of the typical mystic. It is in the writings of St. John, in the vision of one who was preëminently the Seer or Divine, in the practical applications of the disciple whom Jesus loved, who had drawn closest to the heart of the Master, that we have the best expression of those principles and that order of thought to which the name Catholic can be best applied. There is more than this in St. John, as there is in St. Paul: but as mystic, St. John may be taken as classical example of what is illustrated and expressed by the Catholic type of Christian. The Catholic principle stands for the Divine side of truth and of life. This

is only one side, unnatural isolation of which may lead to error: but it is a necessary side of all truth; and it is the side which stands first.

II

The name Protestant, which has a history of almost four hundred years, and the religious movement in modern times with which it is associated, have chiefly to do with the human side of things. It has had four different meanings. Originally it was synonymous with Lutheran. The German princes who signed a protest against the revocation of an edict of toleration of Lutherans, sent to the Emperor Charles V, at the Diet of Speier in 1529, were known as "the Protestants" and their party as "the protestant party." Eventually the name was given to all Lutherans, who were thereby distinguished not only from adherents of the Pope, but also from followers of Zwingli and Calvin, who were called "Reformed." In the latter part of the sixteenth century the name acquired its second meaning by adoption in England to indicate the Church of England party. "Protestant" in England meant Anglican as distinct from both Papist and Puritan. Later, especially during the eighteenth century, it came to be commonly used as generic name for all western Christians who were not Roman Catholics; and this third sense of non-Roman quickly passed with some into the fourth of non-Catholic. It is still used in different senses. Lutherans still claim it in some places as especially their own. Anglicans still use it in a somewhat vaguer sense than it had

first in England. By some it is still used to express repudiation of papal claims without indicating repudiation of the historic Church; by others it is a synonym for the rejection of almost everything ancient for the sake of fresh beginnings.

In history, Protestantism has stood positively for the expression of certain great truths, for (1) individualism in religion, individual responsibility, individual right, individual importance; for (2) fulness and freedom of life, spiritual liberty as contrasted with ecclesiastical servitude: for (3) practical and progressive philanthropy. The achievements of the nations of northern Europe during the last three centuries, all of them for the most part under Protestant influences, have exhibited the positive strength of the religious motive. Strong men, intent on accomplishing good purposes for themselves and for their fellows, have made an impression on modern history, which assures transmission of many blessings to posterity. Protestantism has been the informing spirit of a democratic age; and most of the special blessings the world owes to this democratic age may be not unjustly ascribed to its influence. Self-development and class-protection are ideals of the time; and of both in the sphere of religion, Protestantism is the most obvious expression.[1] In this connection it is necessary merely to emphasize that on the whole the Protestant idea is the human idea, and that the strength of Protestantism is the

[1] Such statement as I can make of this fact will be found in a paper on *The Achievements and Failures of Protestantism* published several years ago. KINSMAN: *Principles of Anglicanism* pp. 127–135.

strength of humanitarianism. At the end of the Middle Ages the world needed a healthy human touch. The Reformation aimed at giving something healthy and human, though it must be admitted that its touches were sometimes laid on with a sledge-hammer. The positive principles of Protestantism made their mark: their effects are with us; and the world can never lose them. They have been wrought into the warp and woof of the social fabric of the stronger nations in the modern world; and their influence is daily more apparent in places and peoples which have only come indirectly under it. There is no danger now of losing grip of the great principles for which the reformers had to struggle. The fights of three centuries ago have been won. We can rest on the laurels of others and be thankful.

But there is another side to the history. In its origin Protestantism found itself in an attitude of antagonism to the prevailing standards of Christianity. It had to attack and destroy abuses, and had to criticise the whole system to which abuses had become attached. At every stage in its history has the chief output of Protestant energy been displayed in its onslaught on existing institutions. It is essentially combative, offensive, destructive, fighting not only for a cause but also more or less for love of the fray. The name, indicating constitutional opposition, has possibly aggravated the tendency by suggesting that strenuous fault-finding is essential to religion. At any rate, one marked result of the influence has been an epidemic of chronic cantankerousness. One of the most painful things in modern religious history is

the fact that the religious ideal of many people is loud-mouthed denunciation, the exhibition of all uncharitableness in angry and ungoverned speech. Men who are gentlemen in all private relations, civil in business, fairly decent in politics, are utterly intolerant and intolerable when it comes to matters of religion. Preaching the Gospel has been identified with indiscriminate abuse; and there are still places in which "the preaching voice" is the vocal embodiment of bad temper. There are many whose chief idea of religious zeal is expression of discontent. The first Protestants made a common attack on the Pope, but they soon found in each other even more convenient targets for their missiles of invective. There is no form of Protestantism which does not retain something of this habit of opprobrium. To quote the moderate language of an eminent divine of the Free Church of Scotland: "In its original form Protestantism represented a criticism of traditional Christianity. On the strength of a new and immediate apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, it was critical of the Catholic institutional Christianity in all its aspects. In modern times it has come to a clearer consciousness of itself, and is not merely critical in relation to Catholicism, but critical *simpliciter* — critical in the sense in which the philosophy of Kant is critical. The principle of criticism is innate in it and inseparable from it. Its own constructions, whether they be speculative or practical, systems of theology or of church-order and government, are permanently subject to criticism. The process never ceases. Protestantism constructs nothing which it does not disintegrate and reconstruct.

The interpretations of its faith which it gives are subject to incessant revision: the intellectual and moral structures which it rears for its habitation — its creeds and confessions, its churches and institutes — can never win an authority which enables them to defy the spirit which produced them. The system of thought and things which Protestantism is engaged in building is a system which is perpetually being renewed in all its parts." [1] This admirably states also the characteristic tentativeness of Protestantism, its inconclusiveness, and its instability. It is to its credit that it encourages suspense of judgment, reverent agnosticism, unwillingness to dogmatize and be wise beyond what is written; but it is a hampering limitation that it often shrinks from definite conviction, hesitates to be wise even within the limits of what is written, and often displays the temper of Jannes and Jambres, "ever learning, yet never able to come to a knowledge of the truth."

A teacher occupying a very high position has said that our "upward-pointing spires" are like interrogation-points, expressing man's irrepressible queries concerning God and the world. This they are; but they are something more. They are also affirmative indices of the source of knowledge, and signs also of definite answers to the questioning instincts of men. The teacher to whom I have referred has also said: "The Church does not represent a structural part of humanity. It represents that spiritual part which does not seek expression in the form of government or even in

[1] Dr. James Denney on *The Constructive Task of Protestantism* in the *Constructive Quarterly*, No. 2, pp. 213f.

forms of society, but seeks expression in its search for God, in its search for the ultimate explanation of life, in its search for the ultimate fountains of the human spirit. The things that are outside of us and beyond our control and higher than we are, are the things by which we seek to measure ourselves; and every church is a sort of attempt to discover a standard." That well states a fact and is a good Protestant utterance; but it does not tell the whole truth about the Church, and is not completely Christian. Man's gropings after God are necessary, and in his religious associations they find natural expression. The churches do represent the normal "struggling aims" upward of humanity. But to state this alone unguardedly is to ignore the fact that Christianity is a revelation, that it represents, first of all, not the upward struggles of men but the downward reaching of God to assist men in their struggles. It is Protestant to think that "every church is a sort of an attempt to discover a standard": but it is Christian to think of the Church established by God as "pillar and ground of the truth," disclosing a standard. The New Testament presentation of the Church emphasizes the very point that such a statement as that cited seems to deny, namely, that the Church represents something normal and structural in humanity, that the laws of spiritual life are analogous to laws of all life, and that spiritual truth and grace are gained through incorporation into spiritual society. The religious life is more than search: it is discovery. It is more than asking of questions: it is receiving of answers. Our Lord bids us "Seek"; but He promises that we "shall find,"

that to our persistent knocking the doors of knowledge shall be opened. Moreover, what comes from Him is to be received as certain and final. Christianity is a search after God, as earnest a search as the world has ever seen: but, more than that, it is the manifestation of God given in response to the quest of faith. It is an unsatisfactory statement of the substance of the Christian life to say of all Christians, "They are looking for a foothold, for some firm ground of faith on which to walk." This has been true of all of them, but fortunately it is also true that many of them have found what they were looking for, and have come to share the confidence in the foundation of faith in Christ expressed by such discoverers of truth as St. Paul and St. John.

In imperfect apprehension of the Church-principle may be seen one of the chief limitations of Protestantism. In its extreme forms it wholly denies this, since it assumes the formation of the Church from below. Those who have wished to start Christianity afresh, whether expressly undertaking a task of invention, or claiming merely to have made rediscoveries, have been concerned not with perpetuation of a Church existent and of transcendent authority, but with the formation of new churches and with self-determined plans of individual salvation, wholly independent of any church other than an aggregation for convenience of like-minded units. The negative tendency invariably halts short of the whole truth. Its opposition to authority, its restiveness at the mystical and supernatural, its content with the commonplace, are all signs of failure to rise to the level of the highest attain-

ment. Its strength lies in the safeguarding of every form of individual right, in efforts to uplift the down-trodden, in the insistence on healthy happiness for humanity, in the exhibition of good practical common-sense. But there are things calling for higher faculties than those of common sense; and man is not wholly himself if he fails to use them. It is a weakness in any movement that it should disparage social facts, rights, and responsibilities, and that it should tend to throw down whatever transcends mediocrity. To a great extent Protestant influences have tended toward these things. Any one who takes broad views of human life and history can not fail to see, in reviewing the whole course of Protestant development, that, with positive strength which the world could not afford to lose, there have been elements of weakness, suppressions and distortions of truth, of which the world cannot too soon get rid.

III

The two conceptions, Catholic and Protestant, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. So far as Protestant stands for religious individualism and Catholic for the corporate conception of salvation, there is no contradiction: the ideas explain and supplement each other. So far as Protestant stands for freedom of personal sonship, and Catholic for the spiritual authority of the Church, there is no contradiction: each conception balances and interprets the other. Catholicism does not deny individual responsibility; and Protestantism need not fail to see that the individual

only realizes himself through society. There ought to be no hesitation about submission to authority, if authority represent our Lord, since submission to Him means freedom. So far as Catholic stands for the Divine and insistence on thinking of those things which are above, there is no inconsistency with the Protestant stand for the human and close attention to the actual things and conditions of earth. Both types of thought have shown tendencies to exaggeration; and history gives many stern warnings. There have been confusions of Divine authority with ecclesiastical tyranny, identifications of Divine sovereignty with the kingdoms of this world, unwarranted claims to infallibility by individuals, unmindful that the promise of guidance into all truth was made to the Church as a whole. All these have disguised the Catholic conception and have made the Catholic name to many minds a synonym for tyranny and superstition. On the other hand, Protestantism has too often meant anarchy, the disintegration of the Church, an indifference, if not hostility, to the supernatural, which has given a great impulse to unbelief. In all Protestant countries there have been driftings away from New Testament Christianity, tendencies to conceive only a remote humanitarian Christ, at times a general tendency to scepticism. Protestantism has too often been a sort of apotheosis of selfishness, and instead of representing the spiritual liberty of Paul the Apostle, has been little more than the chronic kicking against pricks of Saul the persecutor. Reaction has now set in, and the common appeal for the Living Church of the Living Christ indicates that the world is fast outgrowing the

cramping tendencies of a movement which would keep minds and souls groping at low levels. Carefully considered on the positive side, it may be demonstrated that the things which Protestants and Catholics supremely value are merely different sides of the same truth: yet there is an antithesis between the two which ought not to be ignored. If one stands for the sacramental conception of the Church and life, and the other for the denial of these, the one for the Kingship of the ascended Christ, the other for the denial of every authority except that of private judgment, there is a contradiction between which individuals and churches must definitely choose. And there is often this sharp alternative.

The difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is best seen in their respective presentations of the Church. In the main it may be said that Catholicism stands for the Divine side, Protestantism for the human.[1] The Church is a Sacrament and has both sides. The outward and visible human society is the means of the inward and spiritual activities of the ascended Christ. The two conceptions approach the Church from opposite sides. Each has hold of an essential truth. Each supplements the other and needs the other to protect itself. The antithesis serves to demonstrate the Church's twofold, sacramental char-

[1] This distinction may seem very arbitrary. It is plainly not in accord with many facts. Luther was more concerned for spiritual things in 1519 than Leo X. So-called Catholics have often been the worst of worldlings: Protestants have often been the most spiritual of mystics. Yet as a generalization concerning theories and tendencies the distinction may stand.

acter. There has been, and always may be, mystical union between men and God, actual contact of the earthly and the eternal. The Church is the meeting-point of the two.

There is only one place in the Bible which narrates an attempt to reach Heaven and discover God by efforts made merely from below, such as would correspond to purely humanitarian conceptions of the Church. An effort was once made on purely individualistic and congregational principles; and it failed. "And they said, Go to, let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language, and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may no more understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the whole earth; and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."[1] "Our unhappy divisions" are the modern counterpart of Babel; and they are largely due to the same cause. A tower to reach Heaven cannot be built up by men from below; and the attempt by men to discover a "common

[1] Gen. xi: 4–9.

Christianity" or invent a "new theology" must always result in confounding of language — any men, many minds. Religious individualism can never arrive at unity of truth.

The Scriptural description of the City of God represents the converse of this. It is not reared from below, but descends from above. "And there came one of the seven angels . . . and talked with me saying, Come hither, I will show thee the Bride, the Lamb's Wife. And he carried me away in spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God; and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. . . . And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the City had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they that are written in the Lamb's book of life."[1] That is the description of the Church given by St. John the Divine; and the principle of his description can never be ignored. The Church has its origin, its light, its

[1] Rev. xxi: 9–11, 22–27.

life, from God. The nations and the kings come into it, and, as inhabitants, in one sense, make it a City; but it is the City of God sent down for men, not a city or temple of men built for God. It is open to all mankind. "And the Spirit and the Bride say Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him drink of the water of life freely."[1]

[1] Rev. xxii: 17.

SACRAMENTAL CHARACTER

The sacramental principle which underlies the Christian religion gives the best clue to the interpretation of Christian history. It has been considered in its bearings on intellectual problems as determining laws of Christian thought. In a similar way it may be considered in its effects on character. It is commonplace to assert that the Christian life is sacramental; yet apprehension of the truth always opens new vistas of thought and feeling. The Christian secret is that life may be shared with our Lord. The highest thing in human experience, that interaction of personal force, that actual sharing of life in all its phases with another, which we call love, is raised to a point beyond itself when we learn that what is possible between man and man is possible also between man and God. Successive generations of the faithful have found by experiment that there is literal possibility of sharing life with our Lord. By accepting His yoke, we may have Him for Companion and Workfellow. A yoke is made for two oxen: and our Lord's injunction to take His yoke upon us is not merely an appeal to bear a burden, but an offer of assistance. To bear His yoke means merely to harness ourselves for the heavy dragging of life in such a way as to have Him bear half our burden and do half our work. He is our true Yokefellow; and with Him for weal or woe we go shares. If human nature, created in the image of God,

is itself a sacrament, its ideal activity is twofold. The ideal man opens his life Godward and manward; and each form of activity increases power for the other. He that loveth God will love his brother also: and he that loveth his brother whom he hath seen is in the surest way of loving God Whom he hath not seen.

There are possibilities of abnormal, partial development. Some men give themselves wholly to contemplation; monks of Mount Athos intent on seeing "the uncreated light," Buddhists seeking to attain Nirvana by extinction of the human and earthly, careworn souls, utterly weary of earth, who have tried to forget all about it and live in imagination in a state which has not yet arrived. These make the mistake of thinking that absorption in the Divine life evacuates human life of meaning, or that mere impatient, impractical "living in the clouds" is equivalent to living "with Christ in heavenly places." There are others who think that the one duty is to be busy with things of earth. This is plausible and practical.

> "Do the duty nearest,
> Though it's dull at whiles,
> Helping when you meet them,
> Lame dogs over stiles."

There is no doubt of the primary importance of doing with might the task nearest one's hand. But it is a mistake to think only of things of earth, to be cumbered with cares, to keep eyes always down, and to plod along on low levels. *Laborare est orare* is true both ways. Prayer is work, the highest and most useful work man can do: and work is prayer, the most sincere form by which aspiration can express itself. Yet it is wrong

to assume either that prayer is the only work we have to perform, or that the place of prayer in worship may be taken by daily drudgery. The highest life consists not of religious abstraction alone, nor of absorption in labor, but in their combination. In the highest examples of Christian manhood and womanhood the two things go together. Height of aspiration and breadth of sympathy mutually magnify. The more intense the mystical devotion to God, the more keen, penetrating, and painstaking the faculties for service: the more varied the benevolent activities, the more alive to the love of God. Expenditure of energy either way seems to give greater power for the other form of activity. We can touch God, and touch men, directly; yet we touch God most closely through men, and through God as medium get closest to men's hearts.

The twofold aspect of duty resembles God's twofold relation to the world. God is above the world and beyond it. He created it, and it cannot contain His infinity. He is transcendent. Yet He is in all parts of it and sustains it. He is also immanent. Transcendence and immanence pertain equally to the Godhead. It may be said that man has duties of transcendence and of immanence. He is bound for the sake of himself and of the work which he has to do, at times to get above the world and out of it: but for the same reasons he must be ever ready to be close to it and in the thick of its struggles. He must ascend the Mount of Transfiguration, to be delivered from the disquietude of this world and to behold the King in His beauty; but he must keep his faith when he descends the Mount

to cast out devils that await him at its foot. The two commandments which comprise the substance of all the injunctions of the Law and all the aspirations of Psalmists and Prophets, represent the ethical sacrament, the complementary sides of duty, human and Divine. The true Christian is like the Skylark.

"Ethereal Minstrel! Pilgrim of the sky!
Dost thou despise the earth where cares abound?
Or, while the wings aspire, are heart and eye
Both with thy nest upon the dewy ground?
Thy nest which thou canst drop into at will,
Those quivering wings composed, that music still!

"To the last point of vision, and beyond,
Mount, daring Warbler! that love-prompted strain
('Twixt thee and thine a never-failing bond)
Thrills not the less the bosom of the plain:
Yet mightst thou seem, proud privilege! to sing
All independent of the leafy spring.

"Leave to the Nightingale her shady wood,
A privacy of glorious light is thine:
Whence thou dost pour upon the world a flood
Of harmony, with instinct more divine:
Type of the wise who soar, but never roam,
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home." [1]

Character is better described by personal illustration than by verbal outline. The lives of all the saints show well the ethical counterpoise of which we have been thinking. St. Paul was a mystic, "caught up" at times "to the third heaven," "unto paradise, where he heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter"; yet he was a man with

[1] WORDSWORTH

unusual grip of personal and practical detail. Similarly, St. John was possessed by the two thoughts that "God is Light" and "God is Love," but absorbed in them only so that he saw the necessity of "walking in the light" and of "loving one another." The best Marthas have found plenty of time to sit at Jesus' feet, and the best Marys to do their full share of the housework. The noblest characters have had eyes firm-fixed on heaven, yet have kept feet firm-planted on earth. Let me speak of two lives, completely surrendered to the service of God, and yet singularly responsive to the common claims of men.

One of the most winsome examples of sacramental character is St. Athanasius. Of all the heroes of faith, there is none that can better stand tests. As Richard Hooker quaintly says of him, "Only in Athanasius there was nothing observed throughout the course of that long tragedy, other than such as very well became a wise man to do and a righteous to suffer. So that this was the plain condition of those times: all the world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it: half a hundred years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail, the side that had all, or the side which had no friend but God and death, the One the defender of his innocency, the other, the finisher of all his troubles." [1] He is a colossal figure in history, as Harnack describes him, "standing like a rock in the sea"; yet there is always a delicacy and grace about him, so that it does not seem incongruous to remember that he was "one of the little great men of history," or to imagine

[1] Hooker: *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V: xlii: 5.

"That slight form and beauteous grace
Of our true Father Athanase." [1]

He was a typical Alexandrian, preëminently a theologian, intent on penetrating Divine truth, conscious always of life's eternal context. He had that quality of intellectual directness which goes with clarity of spiritual vision. Though but a young man when the Arian controversy broke, his eagle eye first detected the real issue. Through all superficial details and evasive sophistries he saw the point at stake, that Arius would not admit that Jesus Christ is really God; that the whole Christian system is based on the assumption that He is; and that this truth is the heart of revelation. By force of circumstances, in spite of his comparative youth, he became foremost champion of the doctrine expressed in the Nicene Creed. In defense of this he spent a long life of hardship: injustice, slander, exile, prolonged uncertainty, incessant discomfort, went to form his lot. All his life was spent in controversy, in the defense of one cause, one position. The circumstances of the life were such as almost inevitably force a man to encase himself in a shell of hardness, induce intellectual rigidity, intensify obstinacy, and make a man narrow, even if not bitter. A man who has to fight a battle can think of little else, and judges men as they help or hinder him in the one thing to which he has devoted himself. Controversy tends to confine thought and sympathy within the narrow range of one idea. It would not have been strange if Athanasius, champion

[1] Bright: "First Exile of St. Athanasius" in *Hymns and Other Verses. Et passim.*

of a theological doctrine and for fifty years perpetual confessor for his faith, had been able to think of nothing but the one main object of his life. Nothing of the kind. Both in regard to principles and persons he always showed poise and patience. He could see other people's points of view, was not tenacious of words if the things they stood for were protected, could see the unfairnesses and exaggerations of his friends, and never seemed to lose a serenity and sweetness which came of his viewing the turmoils of earth from the standpoint of heavenly calm. Attacks on himself never made him fretful or bitter.

> "He saw the mark their hatred sought;
> They struck through him at what he taught."

The one thing he cared for was religion: his whole life was given to defense of our Lord's Divinity, but he was not merely concerned for a dogma or system. The heart of his religion was personal devotion to our Lord. His concern for truth was not for the triumph of a position or party, but for the value of the truth to the souls of those under his care.

> "'Twas not the mere polemic zeal
> For Council or for Creed:
> For both he set his face like steel
> To serve the Church's need;
> But both were loved for His dear sake,
> Whose rights were in that strife at stake."

As Theologian, as Bishop, as Doctor of the Church, as Confessor, as Champion of the Faith, in every duty and condition which put him into relation to God, he seemed to show measures of Divine patience, jus-

tice, and compassion. Threats and danger did not deprive him of calmness. "I shall withdraw for a time until the tyranny be overpast," was all he said after one scene of violence against him and his people. "It is a little cloud and will soon pass," was his comment when for a fourth time he was driven into exile.

"He, sweetly strong, and strongly great,
Knew how to strive and how to wait."

The poise of his public life had its counterpart in his private relations. Gregory Nazianzen notes that he was "quick in sympathy, pleasant in conversation, and still more pleasant in temper." He was "helpful to all Christians of every class and age, especially the poor," very adaptable, "able to keep on a level with commonplace minds, yet to soar high above the more aspiring."[1] He was very affectionate in all personal relations, sensitive — which made his tenacity the more remarkable, endowed always with a quaint and quiet humor, a remarkable example of Pauline versatility in being "all things to all men."

"One image, stamped on heart and mind,
To make, inform, direct,
Those richly-varied powers combined
For one supreme effect;
And 'all in all' he well might be,
Who in that Light would all things see."

To him in a supreme degree was given "grace by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity"; and with this faith

[1] GREGORY NAZIANZEN: *Panegyric on Athanasius.*

was he given power in an especial degree to minister to "all sorts and conditions of men."

St. Athanasius was a theologian. Let us take from our own time the example of an ecclesiastic. It is only two years since the Church of England lost one of the most gifted of its Bishops, William Edward Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar. Among men of our Communion, Bishop Collins was noted for his clearness of thought, his wide knowledge as one of the best-trained historical scholars of the English Church, his sense of theological proportion, and his powers of ready application. He made a deep impression on the English Church and on our own people at the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. As Bishop of Gibraltar he had charge of all the English chapels and colonies of English people in the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. This brought him in touch with peoples and prelates of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches and gave him a varied experience of the Christian world of today. With unusual knowledge of past and present he had developed very highly the ecclesiastical sense. Probably no Anglican Churchman had more direct knowledge of a great number of ecclesiastical affairs than Bishop Collins. His life was given in a unique way to "the care of all the churches." He was a man of saintly life, and came to have that transparent look of the Spirit shining through matter of fine-spun texture, which is given to some faces. In a Spanish Cathedral, a crowd who saw his "wonderful face" thronged to kiss his hand, although they knew before he told them that he was "the English Catholicus." All who knew him recognized him as one of

the most entirely devoted men of the Church of our own day.

And with this went wonderful capacity for human interests and sympathies. He did heroic work in the rescue and care of sufferers from the earthquake at Messina; he himself anointed the sores of a crowd of Russian pilgrims on a tramp-steamer of the Black Sea, sufferers, it turned out, from confluent small-pox. With the simplicity of real greatness he had a perfect genius for children. Here is a characteristic reference, relating to the time immediately after the death of his wife.

"But it wasn't Judith only the Bishop thought for. He worked hour after hour upon masses of papers and letters; but his idea of rest was helping other people. He taught Doris about poetry, talked to 'his own little daughter Tita,' as he called our second girl, whom he had confirmed, about all her hopes and dearest dreams; and when our subaltern son arrived from India, the Bishop and he were talking so late at night in his room, that I had to sit up to see that they really did go to bed at last. I had not thought that any human being could be so heart-broken, so newly bereft of the love of his life, and yet throw himself so marvellously into everyone else's concerns." [1]

Concentration on ecclesiastical problems could not crowd out personal sympathies.

So in every noble life. The higher the plane along which the soul habitually moves, the greater the power of particularity in the discharge of homely duties. It is only contact with God that gives capacity for widest and closest contact with men. God is everywhere, knows all, and loves all. Omniscience and omnipresence are merely formidable synonyms for sympathy.

[1] *Especially* p. 17.

Human sympathies are not perfect unless they gain tone from the Divine knowledge and compassion. That life only is the best expression of human instinct and human capacity which has most completely surrendered itself to God.

St. John in his vision of God throned in Heaven saw before the throne "a sea," "a sea of glass like unto crystal," symbol of purity, peace, the utter stillness of reverent worship in the immediate presence of God. It may suggest to us that the sea of humanity, with its restlessness and tossings under influence of gusts and storms, may be purified and pacified in God's presence. In the judgment scene, St. John saw the same sea flashing with avenging flames, "a sea of glass mingled with fire." Anger at evil is an aspect of love: zeal for the Lord's cause is a consequence of adoring worship. The sea before the Throne not only reflects but shares the action of the Almighty. In the same way may humanity be permeated by the flames of the Spirit as the glassy sea flashed with the fires of judgment. The contact may be painful, purgatorial; but thence comes the secret of activity.

> "The keen sanctity,
> Which with its effluence, like a glory, clothes
> And circles round the Crucified, has seized
> And scorched and shrivelled it; and now it lies
> Passive and still before the awful Throne.
> O happy, suffering soul, for it is safe,
> Consumed, yet quickened, by the glance of God." [1]

[1] NEWMAN: *Dream of Gerontius.*

THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

"And the City had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: and there shall be no night there. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it." REVELATION xxi: 23–26.

THAT is the vision and prophecy of St. John the Divine of national participation in the life of the City and Kingdom of God. Kings and nations of the earth shall bring their glories and honours into it; and in the light of the City, which emanates from God only, shall those glories and honours be wonderfully transfigured. As in the whole process of salvation, there is to be both giving and receiving. The kings and nations, like their prototypes the Magi at Bethlehem, are to bring to God treasures of every sort; and these, consecrated by God, they are to receive back, made effective by Him for every good purpose.

The history of the Christian centuries has brought many illustrations of this. Salvation is of the Jews; and to the Jew first was preached the message of salvation. Into the Church they brought a consciousness of the One Holy God and a quickness of spiritual faculty possessed by no other people in the ancient world.

God's Son incarnate was born of a Jewish mother. The foundations of His Church were laid in and by Israelites chosen by our Lord to form the nucleus of it. "The wall of the City had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb." The beginnings of Christian history were made of what was given to God by the Jews. And in those Jews who gave themselves and their treasures unreservedly to the service of God as revealed in Christ, were realized the promises made to their fathers. In Abraham's seed all nations of the earth were blessed, when our Lord took flesh of Abraham's race, and when news of Him, the Gospel of salvation, was conveyed primarily to the world by those who were Abraham's sons. The ideal Jewish character is seen in the Blessed Virgin, in St. John, in St. Peter, in Nathanael, in those who received the Jewish Messiah when He came to His own people and His own place. The best of Judaism and the best of Jewish character were brought into the Church; and the blessing it received brought highest glory and honour to the race which gave.

Next, the Greeks, in whose tongue the message of salvation made its way to the world at large, were summoned to bring their peculiar honours and glories into the City of God. They had highly developed intellectual powers, accuracy and subtlety of thought and expression, a fresh and wholesome enjoyment of physical life, aspirations after ideal humanity, the qualities of a race whose crowning product was philosophy. All these faculties and capacities were they called to use in our Lord's service. From the keen

penetration of Greek minds came the Theology of the Church; from Greek Councils came in the Greek language the classic statements of the Faith, the Creeds; from Greek sympathy with all that makes the life of man came the application of Christian principle to the life of society. To men of Greek speech after the men of Jewish blood the world owes its chief obligations for the spread of the Christian religion. And this service of Christ meant freedom for the Greek, the fullest opportunity for developing the special qualities that came by temperament and environment. In the Catechetical School of Alexandria, the chief home of Christian philosophy, were developed men who represented not only the highest type of Christian intellect, but also the crown of specifically Greek excellence. Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Cyril are types not only of Egyptian Christianity, but also of highly spiritualized Greek thought, men in whom may be seen the intellectual qualities of St. Paul, and also of Plato. The Greeks gave much to the Church, and they gained more.

The Romans also in that first age received a call to service, and after a time there was Roman response. The men of the Ruling City with temper and gifts for conquest, organization, amalgamation, imperial rule, who had imposed a type and tendency on many of the peoples brought under their sway, were bidden to surrender their honours and their glories at the feet of Christ. Both in the first days and in succeeding ages the Church has owed much to the Roman genius for practical efficiency on a large scale, the faculty of combining for working purposes heterogeneous and

conflicting elements. The Roman genius was personified in the greatest of the Cæsars; and the finest specimens of the Cæsars have been the best of the Popes. Leo I, Gregory I, and Nicholas I were not only great as Christian leaders and missionaries; they were also fine specimens of the distinctively Roman character. Rome gave much in the beginning, and has always given much, to the Christian cause, in spite of inability to check the Roman itch for conquest, ambitious to subject even the Kingdom of Christ to the City of the Seven Hills. And Rome gained more by discovering that power to rule can never be better exerted than in the noblest of causes. The Romans were men of force and ambition, which, rightly used, are good things. Force may be most nobly exerted, and ambition most nobly realized, in the stress and strain of the warfare of faith.

In the Middle Ages the Church sought to gain the races of northern Europe, Slavs, Teutons, and Celts. Each gave and each gained in the process. The Teutonic races, from which most of us derive descent, had great possibilities, though at the time of their conversion they were rude and uncouth. They possessed a sturdy individualism, a capacity for truth, honesty and purity, stronger than in the older nations which excelled them in social gifts and cultivation of manners. The Teuton needed the Church for schooling in the use of his special faculties; and the Church needed the Teuton for developing the highest type of fearless sincerity and sturdy righteousness. In every age have there been examples of the way in which the nations have brought glory into the City of God,

thereby winning for themselves the truest national glory.[1]

But the City of God does not yet contain all the glory which the nations of the world can give; nor is it yet equipped for work with that efficiency which from more complete absorption of the nations it may gain. We must hope and expect that great good will come to the Christian world from fuller development of the great reserve force of the Slavic nations, already pledged to the service of Christ, but not yet effective to their possible limits. There is much good also in store for the Church in what it may receive from the nations of the East. China and Japan have not only much to gain from Christianity for the working out of wonderful national destinies but they have much to give of inestimable value. Christianity is at present too completely dominated by Western ideas; it needs to redress the balance by what may come from the East. In every phase of religious life there is something sacramental in the Divine-human reciprocity. In this respect national conversion is analogous to individual. Our Lord bids you, and bids me, "Come." He needs each of us. Most surely we need Him. He is our Life. So of us all as a people. We Americans need the Living Lord; and moreover He needs us Americans.

I

It is not easy to define or describe the genius of the American people, for the reason that, like the melancholy of Jaques, it is "compounded of many simples."

[1] See CHURCH'S *Gifts of Civilization.*

But that which causes the difficulty suggests also the line of possible definition. The American people is a composite race, or a race in process of formation under conditions which must ultimately produce a highly complex compound. That which chiefly distinguishes Americans from other peoples comes from the fact that the United States is a meeting-point and melting-pot for all races of the earth. Each of these is making contribution to the mixture out of which the American character and civilization will sometime issue. There have been many mixed races in the past, many a national type and temperament the result of fusion, but never the product of a compound so completely cosmopolitan. The American people had its beginnings in a mixed stock from northern Europe. In course of time, the south-European peoples have added modifying elements. Now the nations of Eastern Europe are contributing their quota of American citizens; and we need not speculate or prophesy of the future influence in America of the peoples of Asia and Africa, for that influence is already a fact. Most of us look back to lines of ancestors representing one or a few kindred nations of Europe. Not many of our grandchildren will be able to do the same. A century hence the confluent strains of national descent will be lost in the main stream of American blood. For good or ill, our characteristic qualities are, and are more and more to be, those of a composite race.

Certain consequences of this fact may be specified as constituting salient, if not the most peculiar, qualities of the American people. In the first place, the fact of necessary assimilation has produced a habit or

quality of assimilativeness. Already is there formation of national oneness out of international diversity, differing from such combination and coöperation of races as may be seen elsewhere. There have been many examples of amalgamation of races into a political unity. Every Empire the world has ever seen has represented a combination of races in which there has been intermarriage, reciprocal influence in many ways, modification on all sides of racial tendency. In the ancient world, the Roman Empire represented not only political unity under one irresistible controlling force, but a union of peoples which perceptibly modified distinctive characteristics of all peoples who formed it. In the British and Russian Empires today the same thing is true. Each of these world-powers consists of an amalgamation of nations distinctly affected by their imperial associations. The Englishman, no matter how pronounced his insularity, is in many ways affected by the fact that the Canadian, the Indian, the Australian, and the South African are with him fellow-subjects of King George. In a similar, though less-marked, degree, is the Slav or Finn in Russia affected by his political connection with the Mongols of Tartary and Turkestan. But this is different from the situation of an American who knows that he has English, German, and a dash of French blood in his veins, and that it is likely that his descendants will be also part Irish and part Italian with chances of strains of Negro and Japanese. Whether or not there be actual combination of bloods, there is combination of peoples in one society which means inevitable influence on the educational environment of each and all. There

is, and is to be, more than amalgamation, more than association; there is to be assimilation whereby each becomes like the others, the resulting race-product having qualities from all the nations because from all it has constituent ingredients. This necessitates power of appropriation. Americans have developed that quality to a high degree. They borrow, adapt, and use from all quarters, have formed the eclectic habit, are always on the lookout for useful novelties, flatter themselves that they know a good thing when they see it and know enough to use it when discovered. Moreover, they can not only adapt new things to old purposes, but can adapt old selves to new surroundings. Assimilation, appropriation, adaptability, are facts of common experience which may be cited as marks of the national character in process of formation.

Americans like to think of themselves as having good practical common-sense; and they have certainly shown a clever inventiveness. They are ambitious to gain and to keep a unique place in the world by being efficient exponents of the prevailing spirit of the age. They show, as is natural, the peculiar marks of youth, its freshness, energy, openness to new impressions, good spirits in the pursuit of new undertakings, the vigor and enthusiasm of boyhood, and also at times boyish crudeness, impulsiveness, and unsteadiness. Youth has limitations as well as strengths; but the period of growth and elasticity gives best chance for developing those powers which can control the future. As youngest of the nations we have an especial call to play an important part in the age that is dawning. The opportunity is obvious; but presence of oppor-

tunity does not ensure its use. We need to remember that though "America is another name for opportunity," it is not yet another name for assured success. We have high ambitions. Very well. Let us cultivate the sober steadiness that may realize them. We wish the best that there is of every sort. Let us remember that the best that is includes and follows from the best that has been, and that only by making sure of that can we be confident of gaining the better that will be.

The national character must affect the national religious life, and determine the nature of national contribution to Christianity. If the Americans are to bring their glories and honours into the City of God, they must develop an assimilative, appropriative, adaptable Christianity which will use to the utmost the opportunities of the present day. If they are ever able to dedicate this sort of character to God's service, they may hope for a Pauline power of being "all things to all men," and ought also in all humility to hope for likeness to Him Who was the Catholic Man, the One in Whom were summed up all lines of human development, Who, mediator between God and man, was also mediator and bond of unity between men themselves. "For He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us." He is our peace because He became one of us, one with all of us; and we shall share His power, if out of experience of differing types and lives we gain by humble submission some measures of Divine justice and compassion. It would be a great thing — and it is not an impossible thing — for American

Christianity to become another name for *sympathy*. We have the opportunity of learning to be sympathetic, because we have the cares, conditions, and confusions of the Christian world close about us. We need not be told of them; we can know them at first hand, and out of this experience by varied contact ought to come power of peacemaking usefulness.

II

It would seem inevitable that America and any form of American Christianity should understand and utilize the forces of the Protestant world. The influences of the Reformation period have affected the social and political, as well as the religious, life of all the western nations; but as belonging wholly to the modern period, and itself the product of those influences, no country is more obviously under obligation to them than the United States. It owes its chief debts to men of Protestant associations, to the English Cavaliers who migrated to Virginia, to the Puritans who made New England, to the Quakers who established Pennsylvania, to the Dutch who made New York, to Huguenots in north and south alike, in more recent times to the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, who have been chief missionaries in opening up the great West. Roman Catholics from France and Spain had an important share in the discovery and settlement of the New World; but their influence counted for comparatively little in the formation of peculiarly American institutions. The more telling contributions came from the settlers from northern

Europe. Ireland and Germany, not to speak of the aggregate of South-European peoples, have contributed to the nation a large proportion of its citizens; but these new citizens have had to adapt themselves to a government and society in forming which their own people had comparatively unimportant shares. For the most part the foundations of the American Commonwealth are English. The Constitution is a product of principles of English government and English law; most customs represent the following of English precedents, although in these Scottish, Dutch, and Irish influences have also counted for much; most important of all, the language of the country, and hence its literature, is English. This English background of American life is a Protestant background.[1] What must be described as Protestant principles and influences have been decisive in determining our national beginnings and the course of our national development. It would seem that these must ever hold their place, if the general characteristics of our civilization and of our national temperament are to remain. We can never cease to understand the motives and value of that to which America owes so much. It would seem, therefore, that American Christianity must allow for, appreciate, and adopt whatever is true, and therefore permanent, in Protestantism. It must ever show those special aspects of Christian truth which

[1] Nothing said here is inconsistent with recognizing the Catholic position of the English Church, although it is intended to imply the distinctly Protestant elements in that Church. The English Bible with all its formative influence in America, represents the working of Protestant influences in the Catholic Church of England.

it has been the function of Protestantism to emphasize. Whatever be the changes of the future, whereby what belongs merely to the last three centuries will sink into its place of due subordination to what belongs to the greater past and to succeeding times, the mark of those centuries has been made on this country in a way which is indelible. Positive principles of any movement survive long after the disappearance of negations. It is the positive side of Protestantism which deserves to survive and will survive; and this country is one of the places where that survival is most certain.

American religious life will show that individuality, that spiritual freedom, which is the most characteristic thing in Protestantism. Individuality and freedom are as old as the faith itself, were made explicit in St. Paul and never wholly obscured; but emphasis of these truths in modern times has been so especially the work of Protestantism, that they may be assigned as special ground for distinction. It is inconceivable that with its background of Protestant association American Christianity can ever fail to allow due recognition of the principle of individualism, or that any body of American Christians should wish to ignore it. There is striking illustration of this in the Roman Catholics of America. They have conceptions of spiritual liberty, of individual freedom in the Church, of individual responsibility, which differentiate them from their coreligionists in other countries. "Americanism" is not appreciated at the Vatican; but it still flourishes at home. This American quality in Roman Catholicism is a result of the Protestant influ-

ences which affect us all in this part of the world. In the same way, in Germany, any one who visits the Roman Catholic churches, for example in the great Roman Catholic city of Cologne, cannot fail to notice an evangelical freshness in the atmosphere which does not exist in the churches of Spain or Italy. The reason is that the German Roman Catholics have something distinctly German about them, a something traceable directly to Martin Luther.

American religious life may also be expected to show the spirit of fearless inquiry and criticism. America is committed to modern ideals of education, to the principles of a scientific age. Its habit of mind is inductive; it wishes to experiment for itself, and to subject all canons of authority to rigorous tests. Together with England and Germany, America is so far committed to the intellectual standards of modern science and research, that its religious life can never subside into blind submission to authority, much less to any process of obscurantism. No matter what its source, Christianity on American soil must be open-minded to all new presentations of even the oldest truths, and must be thorough-going in its critical researches. It will be first evangelical, and second rational; and though it avoid excesses of fanaticism and sceptical destructiveness, it will still show those qualities which preëminently characterized the leaders of the Reformation. In Germany, France, and England, Roman Catholic scholars have higher standards of learning and criticism than their colleagues in Italy and Ireland, because they have felt the invigorating uplift of the intellectual atmosphere of northern

Europe. Without ceasing to be Roman Catholics they have appropriated what came to them from a non-Roman Catholic source. So in American Christianity there must be correspondence with the standards of intelligence and education of the country. Average intelligence may not be high, average education, superficial; but the standards of intelligence and education have been placed as high as the highest; and all American Christians would agree that there must be recognition of this in the country's religious life.

American Christianity must also be frankly utilitarian in its adaptation to modern needs. The Americans pride themselves in being a practical people. Possibly they lack sentiment and imagination, and may fail to recognize some forms of utility: but the desire for what is practically useful is a healthy one. In religion as in all else they wish to have an elastic adaptability. It would never be possible for them to adopt the Eastern Orthodox ideal of immobility, a sort of shuddering terror of anything more recent than St. John Damascene. They need to cultivate reverence for the achievements of the past and the faculty of learning from the world's experience; but they need not fear or apologize for that aspect of the practical wisdom which wastes no time in experimenting with what has ceased to be useful. It is a virtue, not a vice, to show wholesome impatience with the obsolete. American Christianity must certainly aim at being practical and abreast of the times. It can never develop a spirit of mere mechanical subordination, and has forever passed the stage in which men can ignore personality in the religious life. It knows that

the Christian army is composed of men, not machines; though it needs reminder that soldiers have by exercise of the highest personal qualities to learn to act like machines, and that they cannot all of them be major-generals. But in its life there must always be that which corresponds to the healthy life of a growing organism; and it will never be possible to force American Christianity into moulds which plainly belong to places and times remote. American Christians of every name would agree that the Christianity which alone can satisfy the needs of our people, and which can be trusted as having a mission for the world, is one which displays in the highest degree the freedom and flexibility which we value as crowning products of American life. Thus will they maintain the traditions of the Protestant fathers by whom the foundations of the State were laid.

III

These three things, individual freedom in the faith, freedom for research and discussion in religious education, free adaptation of the Church to new and changing needs, represent a religious ideal for America, fostered by its heritage from Protestants, but equally dear to American Catholics. In distinguishing Catholicism and Protestantism, it is not implied that Protestantism has discovered any truth unknown to the Catholic Faith, nor that there is irreconcilable contradiction between the positive principles of the two. The oppositions of the past may give place in future to a harmony which shall best preserve all for which the contrasted

types have striven. Yet for the protection and development of that which is peculiarly dear to the American soul, there is need of a breadth of apprehension and height of aspiration which belong alone to the Catholic Faith, the religion for the world, which has its source in Almighty God. The American religion of the future cannot be confined either in Greek cerements of the sixth century, or in Italian trammels and trappings of the thirteenth, or in English, Scottish, and German moulds of the sixteenth, or in nineteenth-century ruts, even though they were formed in America. It must have what is true and useful from all sources; but there must be clearer representation than in anything we now have of that which can include them all, the Catholic Church, which belongs to every place and time because it belongs to eternity. The great principles of the mystical Body and Bride of Christ can never be ignored.

These principles must be apprehended and adopted by American Christians, if they are to bring their national honour and glory within the gates of the City of God. They especially need these principles for the realization of their own possibilities. To the nations of northern Europe the Church was nurse in infancy, teacher during adolescence, the chief influence in developing national possibilities. In retrospect may be seen how much each of them owed to the training thus received. In our own case there is the same need. Never did a people offer more obvious scope for the educative and regulative influence of the Catholic Church, the Body of Christ belonging to all the world, which can supplement and correct what is

merely transient and national. America must appropriate the faith and principles of the Catholic Church, not only because she must do justice to the part played in national life by citizens belonging to Catholic communions, but also for the sake of counteracting tendencies which threaten her normal growth and influence.

American life, national and religious, must show social coherence and subordination as a means of unification. We start with individualism. We have individualism and individuality. All our political institutions represent political individualism, which is democracy. The special danger of democracy, the final consequence of unguarded individualism, is anarchy. We have more than our share of that. More and more we need the safeguard of the corporate principle in life to correct one-sided tendencies; more and more we need the philosophy of society and the gospel of the Church for the security of highest individual development. Much of our life is like the skyline of lower New York, made of big things, high things, useful things, all of them, some of them beautiful things, but huddled together without reference to each other by men each of whom was doing that which was right in his own eyes, but with no regard for the eyes of other people; making a jumble of uneven tops, ill-assorted frontsides and backsides, which, though it represent the useful activity of a great people and is composed of parts each good in itself, is as a whole the ugliest thing in the way of skyline which any great city can show, and presents a mammoth muddle in place of what ought to be municipal magnificence. It may

be made admirable some day. The lower end of Manhattan Island may sometime be as beautiful and impressive as it is now pathetically amusing: but that can only be when the component parts of its commercial stone-piles have been related, supplemented, harmonized and unified, when this Protestantism in architecture has been Catholicized. That may be done. It is conceivable that adjacent buildings should be so related to each other as to form an harmonious whole, that uniformity of height and a facing of quays should make the spectacle of the American metropolis, which first faces the stranger brought to our shores, a parable of the united strength, wisdom, and taste of a mighty people, instead of being, as it is now, mere illustration of what big things Americans can do, but also of what extraordinarily queer and haphazard ways they have of doing them. We sometimes do things better than this. The national Capital, actual and prospective, is an illustration. The original plans for the City of Washington, and those recently adopted for its beautification, represent the comprehensiveness of view and subordination of detail which our national problems most need: and this sort of thing in the religious sphere is given by the conception of the Catholic Church. We need the sense of the Kingdom of God for the preservation of the Republic. All that America stands for can only be guaranteed by that corporate sense which thinks of the nation as a whole, and rises from consciousness of the nation to consciousness of the brotherhood of the race; and this conception comes to us chiefly from the Church of Christ. The central thought of the Church's faith

is that of the presence and spiritual activity of our Lord, Who is not a mere figure, dear but dim, in ancient history, but the one great present Reality. If we wish to be abreast of the times, we shall be filled with this faith and hope. The cry of the hour, as of the ages, is for fuller realization of the Living Christ, fuller appreciation of the life of the Living Church. This thought of eternal life, of present vigor and action, makes an especial appeal to the American zest for realizing present opportunities. This is the very heart of the Catholic Faith, which combines permanent and variable, oldest truth with newest needs.

There are three watchwords to which every American heart responds, *Freedom*, *Sympathy*, *Variety*. These things we seek in our social and national life; these things we wish in the Church. We also speak much of *Unity*; but perhaps we fail often to think long enough, and feel deeply enough, to know what Unity means. We ought also to take account of the significance of the New Testament word *Fulness*. In our Lord "dwelleth all the fulness of God"; the Church is "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all": "of His fulness have we received," and we may "all be filled with all the fulness of God": the "fulness of the nations" will come whenever teachers come "in the fulness of the Gospel." This thought is puzzling, perhaps, but it serves to express the idea of *a comprehensive faith for a composite people*. This is precisely what is meant by the Catholic Faith of the Catholic Church, the faith in all the harmony of its completeness for all the nations of the world. Our aspirations may be vague: but if they be sincere, time may make

them definite and explicit. Who can tell what answer God may give in response to a nation's prayer?

IV

There are limitations and unsatisfactorinesses in all existing presentations of Christianity; yet all express partial truth, and by making the most of this, we shall be guided further. Impatient idealists may be tempted to abandon a Church which does not wholly satisfy them, possibly to try to form a new one: but such can never discover the One Church, nor find their way into it, by adding to the number of sects. We hope for better things in future, that the duty of our grandchildren in regard to the Catholic Church of Christ may be less perplexing than our own, that in our own country much may be done to further the cause of Christian Unity. Here where we have the whole Christian world represented among our friends and neighbors, it would seem possible that there should be that frankness of statement and sympathy of attention which scarcely ever fails to lead to better understanding, to disclosure of unsuspected agreements and to lessening of differences. Comparison of views often leads to discovery of unsuspected allies. As has been often noted, the lines of separation between Christians are now not so much vertical as horizontal. The lines which separate party from party within a Church, or body from body within divided Christendom, count for less than the plane which separates those in various bodies who are working their way toward more definite apprehension of Christianity

from those who are drifting away from it altogether. Those moving in the same direction are allies, since separation in place and difference in method are compatible with common effort to attain the same end.

In the bewilderment in which we find ourselves as we think of the confusions in the Christian world, it is useful to be reminded of certain practical duties in regard to which there can be no doubt. For one thing, there is always helpfulness in confessions of shortcomings. Penitence is the condition of progress; and individuals and religious bodies can do something by full and frank confessions of failures. There is always helpfulness also in a longing for the truth. Any one striving for guidance and praying for light is not only in the way of advance, but is working effectively for others. There is helpfulness also in content with making small contributions along right lines. The special work given us to do may seem inconclusive, unsatisfactory. It may well be both, and yet not without value. It may not represent a fraction of what ought to be done, or of what we wish to do: but it may be all well enough as far as it goes and be swelling the grand total of fruitful effort. So long as we can be confident — and of this we may be — that what work we do is on some line plainly in accord with our Lord's Will, whether we can see or not how it is to be fitted into the symmetrical whole of the work of the Church, or whether we can see our coworkers in the task, we may leave it all with the One Master Who knows His servants, whether or not they recognize each other.

We are here assembled in a place dedicated to God

by the name of one who was as perfect an example as we know of the faith and love that comes from Christ. "The disciple whom Jesus loved" certainly knew, if any one ever knew, all that is involved in personal relation between the soul and its Saviour. No less than St. Paul, St. John represents the sturdiness of faith, the human side in the process of redemption. But he is also the Divine, the Seer, the Mystic, the Eagle gazing at the Sun, the one who saw furthest into our Lord's eternal purposes, who had the vision of all the redeemed in the holy City of God. St. John's teaching is the complete presentation of all those things which characterize Catholic truth, as he is himself typical example of the Catholic tone and temper. The basis of his zeal was burning loyalty to our Lord: and as the fiery temperament of the Son of Thunder was mellowed and consecrated, he became the Apostle of Love, learned to show a tireless patience, and exhibited a breadth and delicacy of sympathy akin to that of God. His name has well been given to this place. It personifies an ideal and an ambition, that here may be a home for all who might be embraced in the capacious love of a St. John. He would well understand how to bring together all the servants of the One Lord, as those who have built this place would wish to bring together separated brethren in this country. The name of St. John also serves to hold high before the eyes of the American people those truths and those standards which in the bustle of a materialistic age they are most sorely tempted to ignore. It stands preëminently for the fundamental truth, "the Word of God was made flesh and dwelt among us," and also

for the further and consequent truth, revealed to St. John in his vision, that the Son of Man is still to be discerned in the midst of the Churches, "and His countenance as the sun shineth in his strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as one dead. And He laid His right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not: I am the first and the last. I am He that liveth. I was dead: but now am I alive forevermore." "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE four papers following were written as Parish Studies for the first four numbers of the *Trinity Parish Record* in 1913. They are here reprinted by permission of the Editor as illustrating in some detail several points touched upon in the papers read before the Cathedral Conference.

THE ONE CHURCH

WE all glibly recite Creeds in which we declare belief in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; but our conceptions of what this means are often vague. If actual beliefs were put into words, many of us would be more likely to say: "I believe in an Indefinite Number of Moral Protestant Congregational Churches." Morality, Protestantism, for that matter Indefiniteness, have their places in the universe; but those places are not in Creeds. They are excellent as far as they go; but they do not go far enough to satisfy Christian standards. Our common conceptions are, as a rule, formed *from below*, and represent what is solely *human*. Christian conceptions, on the other hand, are all of what comes *from above* and deal invariably with the *Divine*. The Church is from above, "the holy city, new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven." Her Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity,

and Apostolicity are such as descend to her from her Divine Head. Men have devised things which they call by these august names; but the human devices are very different from, in some cases contrary to, the marks of the Church as they are presented in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles.

The Church appears in human history as a society, an organized body of men. It is therefore not unnatural that we should seek to make comparisons with other societies, armies, guilds, political parties, nations, and to try to translate Church History into terms of ordinary social organization. The principle underlying this is need of coöperation. "Man is a social animal"; and he cannot escape the necessity of constant dependence upon, and occasional coöperation with, other men. Men, therefore, get together, talk together, and work together, the combination of individuals involving certain restrictions and rules, the reasonableness of which all admit, and in the observance of which all agree. Common action is determined by the common mind. The plan of action may be determined by a leader; but he is only leader and spokesman by common consent. In the last analysis it is the individual man who has to determine what shall be done, not only by himself but also by his fellows acting with him in some common capacity. The principle determining this social order is that authority is delegated from below, that members of the body exist before the body is formed, that the existence of the body depends upon voluntary union and corporate adaptation of its members.

The Church differs from human societies of this sort

in origin, aim, and fundamental principles. It starts not with certain men, feeling certain needs, and consenting to act in common, but with the coming into the world of the Son of God. Men did not attach themselves to each other; God attached them to Himself. The Church's aim is not mere coöperation of men for some common purpose, but the imparting to men of a Divine principle of life. It is not merely an organization, a human arrangement for convenience, but an organism, a creation of God as instrument and expression of life. It is analogous, as is suggested in Scripture, to the family and the vine. God created Adam and Eve with power to reproduce their kind. In Adam the race existed first; individual men only exist as the race and race-principle call them into being. Human nature has its source in the love of God and descends to its various sharers by a line of successive parents. So of the vine. Its character, life, is in its stock; this creates leaves and branches. In both human family and vegetable organism the source of life is from above, and the law of growth determined by a principle working within which is undiscoverable by natural science. So of the Church. It has its source in the love of God the Father, has for its Head God the Son, and its life by the indwelling of God the Holy Ghost. In origin and law of life it is Divine.

This explains the nature of its Unity. In ordinary human societies unity means such unanimity of individuals, and such union for common action, as can be effected from below. Members unite to form the body; and the mind scattered throughout the belly as in

some low forms of insects determines movement of the head. Union of individuals, coöperation of groups, federation of several bodies, depends upon the continued union of innumerable wills. The only unification is that of units in mass, the unity of a dust heap. This has its necessities and uses, but also obvious limitations. The Unity of the Church means more than this, though it includes all that this union means. It involves unity of thought and will in many individuals, coöperation, and federation of groups. It is productive of that will to unite, on which human union depends, and is therefore fitted to produce the best results of unity from below. Yet in its source and essential nature it is a unity from above. Our Lord, Head and King of the Church, is Centre and Bond of Unity. As St. Paul suggests, the unity of the human race has its source and centre in Adam; the unity of the Jews has its source and centre in Abraham. Similarly, to the Church our Lord is second Adam, head and bond of a new race, and also second Abraham, as father of the faithful, who are only united to each other through Him. This is also taught by our Lord's prayer for the unity of His Church; "that they all may be one; as Thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they all may be one in Us." The pattern as well as the source of unity among Christians is the Unity of God. The Church cannot create a unity; it can only receive it. Its separated parts can no more unite themselves than disjointed limbs can come together into a body, or leaves, branches, and fruits combine to form a vine. Our Lord is the one Head "from Whom the whole Body is fitly joined together,"

and "the Vine" of which His people are "the branches." Unity is only received from Him.

Plato in one of his Dialogues gives a curious explanation of poetic inspiration. "The gift (of poetry) is not an art but an inspiration; there is a divinity moving you like that of the stone which Euripides calls a magnet. That stone not only attracts iron rings, but also imparts to them similar power of attracting other rings; and sometimes you may see a number of pieces of iron and rings suspended from one another so as to form a long chain; and all of them derive their power of suspension from the original stone. Even so the god sways the souls of men and makes one man depend upon another." Similarly, the "Chief Corner Stone" of the Church is a Magnet; and all the parts which compose His Body the Church only cohere through Divine force derived from Him. Closer unity between Him and individual members of His Church alone makes possible closer unity between separate members with each other. They cannot directly unite, though they may be united through Him. This theory taught by our Lord Himself cannot be ignored. The more it is meditated upon, the more congruous it is seen to be with ultimate facts of experience. It is a Divine theory; but it is humanly practical. It is possible to bring those who have received One Baptism into closer sacramental union with the Head of the Church; and by so doing we help to effect the unity of the Body.

Unity of the Body follows from the oneness of the Head. To lead men to believe in and to seek the Unity of the Church it is necessary first of all to preach

the "one Lord." In spite of theoretical agreement among those who bear the Christian Name in recognition of one Lord as supreme, the state of the Christian world shows practical belief that Christ can be divided. The divisions of the Corinthian Church into dissentient followers of Paul, Apollos, and Cephas were as nothing compared to the fractions of Christendom today. Great sections of the Christian world base their religious life on a principle of separation. "Lords many" are made of competing leaders of the Church and exaltation of heads of parties and sects has obscured the claim of the one Lord Whom all confess. "Our unhappy divisions" are due to "not holding the Head, from Whom all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God." Sense of the sin of disunion depends upon allegiance to the living Lord, Who is crucified by wounds and rents made in His mystical Body, and just so far as burning devotion to the Person of our Divine Saviour is kindled, are Christians inflamed with a zeal for unity.

Belief in the one Lord carries much with it by implication. Concentration of spiritual gaze on Him of necessity distracts from petty divisions among men and removes from the atmosphere in which division is possible. Moreover, living faith in Him as Living Lord involves acceptance of the sacramental principle. He is Himself the great Sacrament. When the Word Who was from eternity with God and was God was made flesh and dwelt among us, the inward and spiritual mystery of the universe was expressed and conveyed in an outward sign visible and intelligible to men. To

believe in the Incarnation is to be prepared to believe in the Church and its extension. To believe in our Lord as God is to accept the mystical conception of life and the possible operation of supernatural grace; to believe in Him as Man is to acquiesce in the sacramental possibilities of earthly and material things and the possibility of Divine action through human instrumentality. If He is "of one substance with the Father as touching His Godhead and of one substance with us as touching His Manhood," the Church united with Him may well minister heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. Recognition of these applications of the sacramental principle cuts out the root of the chief causes of divisions; hence may we have confidence in every striving for unity which bases itself on intenser belief in our Lord as God and Saviour.

THE HOLY CHURCH

The Church derives her character from Christ the Head, and is, therefore, a Holy Church, a Church whose life consists in sharing the nature and activities of God. Holiness, which expresses the being and character of God, is to be contrasted with mere ideals and achievements of men. It is more, for example, than morality, more than philanthropy, for these are human products. It includes all the best they stand for, but transcends them, as being not something laboriously reared by men from below, but a gift of God from above. "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God." The Church's aim is not to

produce but to receive. She is content with no ordinary human attainments, not even the highest moral eminence. She hungers and thirsts after the righteousness of God which comes in response to faith, to be filled with all the fulness of God, and herself to be "the fulness," that is complete embodiment and expression, "of Him that filleth all in all." Though not yet actually holy in all parts, since there is admixture of human error and frailty with the holiness imparted from above, yet in standards, ideals, and in the true life which is being gradually realized, the Church is Divine.

Contrast with this what is meant by "morality." Morality, by etymology "custom," is something purely human. Men have learned by experience that for purposes of self-culture and for purposes of social convenience certain customs are desirable. These, therefore, are enjoined and imposed. Teachers formulate systems of conduct; and we have codes of morals from Hammurabi, Plato, Mohammed, and Confucius. These represent as good a science and system of life as men by themselves can discover, and are to be received with veneration. They represent rules of living which tests of time have proven useful, and which men's deepest feelings have approved. They all contain good, some of them great good: those which issue from the experience of cultured and devout peoples represent high planes of human conduct. But they seldom rise higher than the plane of possible achievement of the average man. The moral is essentially the conventional; and the conventional does not raise the highest standard. It tends, as matter of fact, to

establish nothing more than an average standard and that average comfortably low. Men do not care to be righteous overmuch: and the moralities they devise represent, on the whole, only very moderate requirements of self-interest and wordly wisdom. They are good as far as they go; but they go no farther than they have to. Morality is determined primarily by considerations of self-interest; and one consideration of self-interest is that its requirements shall not be too exacting. It is concerned primarily, like that old worldling Polonius in his most solemn injunctions, with looking out for Number 1, "This above all, to thine own *self* be true; and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man." This is specious morality, unctuous, pious; but it falls comfortably short of anything like holiness and self-sacrifice.

Philanthropy might be expected to go beyond morality, since it is concerned primarily with fellow-men. But its standards are not usually higher than those of average morality, since a man is not likely to seek for his neighbor what he does not care in the first instance to gain for himself. Philanthropic standards are derived from moral standards as from a stream which cannot rise higher than its source. Hence when the aims of self-development are physical ease and such culture as conduces to gain or pleasure, brotherly kindness will take the form of sharing bodily comforts and of surrounding ourselves with those whose gay enjoyment of the world reflects the spirit which we ourselves wish to possess. We will relieve physical distress to be rid of the sight of it, provide sumptuous

Christmas dinners for the poor, and endow free beds whereon they may recover from the effects of them. Methods of philanthropy may become more and more scientific, sane, and sanitary; but they will not rise to a high plane so long as food, money, and the theatre represent the ideal of success and happiness. Many schemes of philanthropy aim at much more than this; but it is doubtful whether the philanthropic motive by itself can induce a man to do more than share with a few, such good things as he has sought and to some degree gained for himself. Philanthropy certainly does good to him that gives, usually also to him that takes; it is excellent as far as it goes: but it does not often go far enough.

"The pre-Christian religions were an age-long prayer: the Incarnation is the answer." Similarly, man's moralities, voicing aspirations of mind and conscience, and his philanthropies, expressing altruistic instincts, represent irrepressible human desires to make the best of self and to help fellowmen; they exhibit the best of human life as devised and developed from below. But it is the life of Christ alone, the exhibition of human life as designed and viewed from above, which shows a humanity that men recognize as really satisfying the instinctive longing after higher things which are innate in humanity. In our Lord ideal man is exhibited to himself. The difference between the best that humanity can make of itself and the glory of the Word made flesh, full of grace and truth, shows that the supreme morality and philanthropy are not self-evolved. The knowledge of them comes by revelation; the things themselves come by gift of God.

Both morality and philanthropy are raised to highest terms and guaranteed by the Divine holiness and self-sacrifice. Self-culture and neighborly kindness are best secured on the basis of love to God; and in the light of revelation the best that man can achieve in independence of God is poles asunder from the righteousness which God gives. When St. Paul characterizes the law and the righteousness which is by the law as "sin," he is only emphasizing the contrast between what is merely human and what is Divine. But what man cannot develop out of himself, he may receive by communication from God. Our Lord is "the Lamb of God Who taketh away the sin of the world"; and He is "second Adam" Who begets a race of redeemed humanity.

From Him we receive more than teaching. God, Who never left Himself without witness, but in every race and time inspired sages and philosophers to teach men wisdom and kindness, in the fulness of time sent His Son to reveal both Divine and human nature through intelligible terms of human life.

"Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the Name
Of Him who made them current coin.

"For Wisdom dwelt with mortal powers,
Where truth in closest words shall fail,
When truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

"And so the Word had breath and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds
More strong than all poetic thought."

By our Lord came truth, revelation about God, about man, about life. But by Him also came grace, gift of power to realize human possibilities which by nature man cannot have. He is more than Example: He is Source of human perfection. In teaching this, Christianity runs counter to our first impressions and to popular teaching. We start with conviction that we are able to work out our own salvation, that with half a chance we can develop our powers, that we can by searching find out ourselves, and, so far as we need Him, God. Christianity denies this. Our own searchings can find many things; but the sum of discovery is that we are not self-sufficient. To be without God in the world is to be without hope. Our Lord showed this by displaying a type of humanity which embodies more than moral respectabilities, more than philanthropical sentimentalities, and reveals an all-pervading love capable of supreme self-sacrifice and finding glory and power in pain. On the Cross He exhibited the holiness of God in its opposition to the spirit of the world, and also the holiness of man in its acceptance of the price of obedience. Yet the revelation of God's searching requirements would be terrible, were it not that our Lord not only shows what man ought to do but also gives power to do it. He requires holiness; but He gives this by the indwelling of His Holy Spirit. "The mystery of godliness" follows from the mystical union of Christ with the members of His Body, the Church.

The Church is the Home of Holiness. Those who as members of Christ are sacramentally united with Him are infused by spiritual forces. Men may become

"partakers of the Divine Nature" as the Son Himself derives His being from the Father as Source of Godhead. "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." Life sacramentally generated has as fruits not only decencies of morality and the easy good-nature of philanthropy, but also such love and joy and peace as only the Spirit of God can give. "He was made human that we might be made Divine," wrote St. Leo: and St. John gives the gist of Christian Ethics when he says, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins. . . . God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Church of God is intended for all mankind. "God willeth all men to be saved; and the only limits to the inclusiveness of the Church, which is the instrument of salvation, are those imposed by the wills of men who refuse to accept the grace proffered them." "God so loved the *world* that He gave His only-begotten Son." This universalism of Christianity disappointed the expectation of the Jews who believed that their race had a monopoly of God's favor; and it contradicts all theories of God's working which would restrict His grace to narrow channels, or deny possibility of salvation to any race or class of men. The possible scope of the Church's influence is as wide as humanity.

This conception of a Catholic, Universal, Church is

opposed to that of all ancient religions. These were cults of families, tribes, and nations, and were restricted to men of one blood. A few Greeks dimly dreamed of one all-supreme God Who had made of one blood all peoples of the earth; but commonly men's sympathies did not range beyond the confines of their own special class or nation. Religious rites and beliefs were the exclusive and distinguishing possession of special classes of men. Religion was commonly thought of as a family, or at most a national, possession. Among no people was the idea of religious exclusiveness more strongly held than among the Jews. They were the "chosen people," the "elect nation." Their whole religious history had impressed on them the necessary duty of aloofness from the rest of the world. They were taught the special obligations of God's service by being kept apart from idolatrous nations round about them on the principle implied in our Lord's warning to His followers, "Ye are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." Exclusiveness for the sake of concentration, narrowness for the sake of depth, had to be insisted on: but it was a means, not an end. The Jews treated their position as one not of responsibility but of privilege, not of obligation but of exemption. They knew that God's special promises had been given to Abraham, that "salvation was of the Jews"; and they could not conceive that the religion of Almighty God could be other than Jewish in form. They were perfectly willing to receive proselytes of the gate; but the religion of Jehovah was, they believed, only for Jews and Jew-Gentiles. Though they believed their God to be without peer, "There

is none like Thee among the gods," and came to think of Him as Lord of the whole earth, yet their conceptions of national religions and national gods did not differ essentially from that of other peoples. In spite of conviction that Jehovah was Creator of heaven and earth, they reasoned that His choice of the Jews as recipients of a progressive revelation of Divine truth virtually restricted His grace to Jewish channels. They regarded themselves not as trustees of spiritual blessings for all mankind, but as irresponsible favorites. They had to be taught both their own duty and the comprehensiveness of God's love and purposes.

The first Christians, devout Jews by birth and training, did not at once rise to higher conceptions. They regarded themselves as the elect remnant, the true Israel of God, the heirs of the promises made to Abraham; but, even with the knowledge that the Messiah was a heavenly rather than an earthly King, they did not at once see that men might be brought to Christ by other than Judaizing processes. Though to them religion was more than family custom, more even than a national cult, since they were familiar with the idea of international adoption, yet at first they thought only of the extension of Christianity by strictly Jewish methods of inclusion. The Church, the *Ecclesia*, was the body *called out;* and this exclusiveness, necessary as a means of instruction, was regarded as an essential aspect of the body of the redeemed. It was St. Paul who first learned and then taught the truth that the Church is an Universal Church in which Gentiles are fellow-heirs of God's promises side by side with Jews. The Church's mission is to all mankind;

its sympathies must be as wide as humanity, its methods as varied as the needs of men, its characteristics as manifold as those of the nations of the earth. Our Lord was the Jewish Messiah; but He was also the Catholic Man, the Second Adam, the embodiment of ideal humanity. So the Church, His Body, is the Catholic Society, the household and family not of Abraham but of God, not only "the general assembly and church of the first-born," but also of all "spirits of just men made perfect." It was, in the first instance, as against belief in one Jewish, one national, Church, that Christians professed belief in one Catholic Church. The profession of that belief still serves to oppose any restriction of the Church-idea to a special class or nation by confronting the narrowness of men with the all-embracing love of God.

In modern times has arisen another antithesis. The Catholic Church is contrasted with the Protestant Churches. The contrast marks the distinction between the religion of the Incarnate Word intended for all mankind and the select views of certain sets of people who have become conscious of disagreement with somebody else. The essence of Catholicism is the thought of the human race considered in relation to God; the essence of Protestantism is the thought of one's own private judgment as distinguished from the private judgment of one's immediate neighbors. Private judgment is a fact; it has its place and function in the Christian scheme of redemption; but it is no substitute for the revelation of the new creation which comes through Jesus Christ. Protestantism is essentially individualistic, and serves a useful purpose in so far

as it insists on individual responsibility, individual access to God, and the personal relation between each soul and its Personal Saviour. But it errs when it confines religion to the individual consciousness and tends to restrict religious conceptions to the devices of individual mind and feeling. It rightly insists on the human function in the process of salvation, on the necessity of the response of faith: but it too often trusts to its own initiative and subjects itself to its own inventions. It is concerned with the lower, earthly side of things, and tends to determine everything from below.

The Catholic Church, like the conception of the Catholic Church, cometh down from above. It means more than that, as the individual must broaden his thought to include the family, so the family conception must broaden to the national, and the national to the international, tending to sense of kinship with all mankind. Man by thinking and feeling may stretch himself over a large surface; but his self-evolved breadth is necessarily thin. Catholicity means more than imaginative breadth of human sympathy. It means that conception of humanity and of the whole creation which comes from thinking first of God. From God, Who filleth all in all, all things in the world in all conceivable ways, comes that Church which is the fulness, the complete expression, of its Divine Head. It is from Him that men gain true breadth of view and depth of sympathy whereby to realize their universal kinship. As love of God lies at the root of true love for self and love for neighbor, so the conception of God's nature and purposes lies at the base of world-wide conceptions of humanity and rounded

conceptions of human destiny. Breadth of sympathy for all humanity depends on height of aspiration towards God. Only as by degrees we come to possess "the mind of Christ" do we learn the secret of universal love. Only as we fathom the depths of Divine love, do we learn that the limits of the Catholic Church are those of Divine inclusiveness.

There are many caricatures of Catholicity. There is the theory of acquiescence in rules for the Church devised by an Italian oligarchy, *pax Romana*, uniformity of outward observance; there is the assumed indifference to divisions between Protestants which would produce civility at the expense of sincerity, unanimity in the avoidance of burning questions; there is the harking back to past ages and irrevocable conditions on the theory that we can let some bygones be bygones, if we take other bygones as beginnings; there is enthusiastic applause of all novel doctrines, especially such as contradict the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; there is habitual disparagement of strictly conscientious persons, a sentimental devotion to criminals, an emphasis on the virtues of vice, and a passionate demand for belief in the salvation of the dear old Devil, universalism: all of which call themselves "Catholicity." But these are not ideas of St. Paul and St. John, nor have they sanction in the teaching of our Lord!

The Catholic Church, as distinct from individual, congregational, local, national religious cults, and as transcending the noblest human efforts to realize universal brotherhood, is the mystical Body of Christ, whose whole life is sacramental, whose extension is by

sprinkling of One Baptism, which includes all who do not wilfully refuse the invitation of Divine Love. "Whosoever will, let him come." "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and one touch of grace makes that whole kin one. As souls are touched with sense of sin and surrender themselves to the saving sacraments of the one Saviour, they are included in that body of the redeemed and make contribution to the character of that body from which nothing human is alien. There is need of form, organization, lower activities; but the true character of Church-membership is not realized without that sacramental conception of the Church and of life which relates the admission into earthly fellowship to the writing of names in the Lamb's Book of Life.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

THE Church which is One, because it consists of those who are united to One Lord Who is Divine; which is Holy, because it shares the Divine life; which is Catholic, because it is inspired by Divine love and compassion for all humanity; this Church, Divine in its Head and Centre, in its character, and in its motive and scope, is also Divine in its work and in its authority. It is Apostolic, that is, sent and commissioned by God, for the purpose of continuing "all that Jesus began both to do and to teach."

It is natural to assume that a Church of this mystical character would have received a solemn commission in the Name of God; and according to the Gospel narratives such a commission was given. Our Lord

spoke of Himself as the embodiment of authority. "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth." Then followed His commission to the Church, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world." In these words are implied two things, our Lord's mission of the Church, and His perpetual presence in the Church, both involving the idea of authority delegated by God. In His earthly ministry He inaugurated a double work of revelation and redemption, of teaching men about God and of saving them from sin; and this work He continues, working by His Spirit through His mystical Body the Church. Reigning as King in heaven He discharges functions of Prophet and Priest; and in His Name the Church exercises royal authority for the purpose of mediating grace and truth. The Church has to teach and to baptize, to discharge a ministry of Word and Sacrament, ruling minds for the sake of illuminating them and souls for the sake of sanctifying them. There can be neither teaching nor training without exercise of authority; and to justify this it is necessary that there be guarantee of commission from God both to those who wish to receive grace and truth from Christ and to those who wish to work in Christ's Name. No man could assume right to speak and act for God, though he may humbly try to discharge such a responsibility, if without assumption of his own it be laid upon him. This is the principle which underlies the Church's belief in an Apostolic Ministry. Given belief in the continuous activity of our Lord, now as formerly

reaching men through the instrumentality of other men, it is possible to believe in a Divinely commissioned ministry of "ambassadors of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God." Perpetual commission from Christ and perpetual inspiration by Christ are credible to those who believe in the perpetual work of Christ supernaturally present in His Church. Belief in the delegation of Divine authority to the Church and its Ministry has not been due to the inventive imagination of Christians of later days, but to the express words and promises of our Lord Himself, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." This signifies Divine mission for share in a Divine work of redemption, the Divine work requiring a Divine commission quite as truly as the Divine commission implies a Divine work.

The principle of authority in the Church is opposed by all forms of individualism. Individualism recognizes no authority except such as is self-evolved, being democratic because democracy seems to be an extension of autocracy, and sometimes theocratic for the same reason. *Vox Populi* is the same as *Vox Dei*, because *Vox Mei* is assumed as a middle term. "I am one of the people; therefore the voice of the people is my voice; and this being the case, I recognize the voice of the people as the Voice of God. If the Voice of God expresses my opinions, I bow to It as infallible." But if the individual mind and will be independent and supreme, there are as many independent supremacies as individuals. Pure individualism, irrational in its assumptions, is also, therefore, anarchic in its results.

Individualism lies at the heart of the Protestant creed, "I disbelieve in the religion of everybody else." Since this denies external authority and suspects conceptions which transcend its intelligence, its church-government naturally takes the form of domination from below. During the Middle Ages there developed in the Western Church an idea of clerical caste and a clerical tyranny which called for reform even by revolutionary methods. The tyranny was intolerable; and there was need of insisting that in all that concerns the Church there must be coöperation of the laity, since the clergy only discharge representative functions for the body of the Church as a whole. But in the reaction of the sixteenth century there was often, instead of reform of authority misused, a defiance of all authority and the overthrow of much that promoted the welfare of the Church. Reaction from clerical tyranny often established lay-tyranny, less defensible in theory and more disastrous in fact. Abuse of authority by some of the men who have been trained and commissioned for its exercise is not remedied by assuming that authority can only be safely entrusted to those who have had no such training and no such commission. Yet this anomaly has frequently been illustrated by developments in modern times. Revolt against misused authority in the Church has often involved not only defiance of false priests and false prophets but also virtual rejection of the authority of our Lord Himself. The revolt against authority has been general. Private judgment has in all spheres arrogated to itself an impossible supremacy. In schools it often seeks to subject teachers and curricula to

pupils, in politics legislators to the least fit of voters, in courts judges to the most vacant-minded juries, in homes parents to their spoiled children.

"Tumble Nature heel o'er head, and yelling with the yelling street,
Set the feet above the brain and swear the brain is in the feet."

Freedom has been caricatured by the license of self-will and ignorance. Not only has there been suspicion of any claim to rule in God's Name, but also scant regard for the authority of God Himself.

Against this principle of anarchy the Catholic Church maintains the principle of freedom through obedience. It views all life as corporate and organic. It is conscious of the living Christ and of man's constant need of grace. This consciousness leads to belief in the working of the Holy Spirit in a Church not man-devised but God-ordered; and the acceptance of this principle, Apostolicity, is but acceptance of what is involved in our Lord's assertion, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." The Apostolic Church, sent by God and inspired by God to continue the redeeming and sanctifying work of His Son and Spirit, can only be defined in terms of the Divine Nature; and its methods of working are also Divine. The kingdom of God cometh from above. It is radically wrong to try to reduce it to terms of mere human nature and secular politics and to identify it with efforts at self-government such as we make in secular affairs. If this be done, it ceases to be Church, *Ecclesia*, the body of those "called out" from the world to be in closer touch with God. A distinguished teacher has said that every church-spire represents a mark of interrogation, the

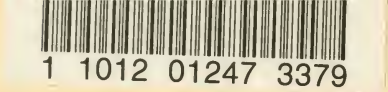
irrepressible inquiry of man concerning the Being and nature of God. In a sense this is true. On the human side, the Church represents humanity by a law of its being struggling upward toward light. But in another and more important sense church-spires stand, or ought to stand, for affirmation, not so much for the fact of man's queries as for the definite answer God has given to them. "Not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation of our sins." "We love Him, because He first loved us." The conception of the interrogatory character of the Church unrelated to its affirmative character cannot be regarded as entirely Christian.

"And one of the angels talked with me, saying, Come hither and I will show thee the Bride, the Lamb's Wife. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God; and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal; and had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of Israel: on the east three gates; on the north three gates; on the south three gates; on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."

There is a vision of the Church's ideal. It is One, unique, and incomparable as coming from God; it is Holy, "having the glory of God," the light, purity, and

strength of the most precious crystals; it is Catholic, having gates on every side affording easy access to those who approach God from every quarter; it is Apostolic, having as foundations the faith of those who believing in Jesus as Son of God were sent forth to win the world in His Name.

It cannot be maintained that the ideal is, or ever has been, even approximately realized in any fraction of the Christian world. But now, as in all ages of the Church's history, there are many holy souls who are seeking more and more the reality of the Divine Church, because they believe in the Divine Saviour. The two beliefs stand or fall together. Those who have rejected the idea of the Church as anything more than human organization have also rejected, or are plainly in way of rejecting, the conception of Jesus as more than human teacher. On the other hand, those who have believed, and do believe, in our Lord as "very God of very God, being of one substance with the Father" are able to conceive of His Divine activity among and through men, though "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." "Whom say *ye* that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the Living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter — Man of Rock — and upon this rock — of faith like thine — I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."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